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CHURCH HISTORY.

FOURTH PERIOD, *continued.*

FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE TO
POPE GREGORY SEVENTH. A.D. 814 to A.D. 1073.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

I. PAPACY AND THE POPES.

THE most important thing in studying the history of the church constitution in this period, as well as in the middle ages generally, is, to survey what was slowly and gradually done for the realization of the church theocratical system, the full completion of which was steadily kept in view by the church, after the fundamental position had once been taken; and in order to the realization of this system of the church theocracy, everything depended on the realization of the idea, which required that the church should form one organic whole under *one visible head*, by which all the parts should be held together—in other words, on *the formation of the papacy*. For it was only *then* that the church could be expected to make itself independent of the influence of the secular power, and appear as God's instrument for remodelling and shaping all human relations, when it should proceed to develop itself under the guidance of an absolute head, not subject to the power of any individual monarch, and able to keep all the scattered members of the great whole united together. See vol. III. p. 120. For this reason, we must

henceforth give the history of the papacy the precedence over all other matters relating to this subject. Taking this view of the matter, one phenomenon, most extensive and important in its influences, may well claim our attention in the first place—a phenomenon which proceeded from and again powerfully reacted upon the papal theocratic system so far advanced already towards its completion in the prevailing mode of thinking of this age; namely, the wide circulation of a new code of ecclesiastical laws, which, formed for the exclusive purpose of favouring this system, acquired great authority by falsely assuming the names of ancient popes; we mean the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*.

We observed in the second period, that the collection of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and containing the papal decretals from the time of Siricius downward, acquired the greatest influence in the Western church. This collection, which was widely circulated, and used in the churches of different countries, received many and various additions from the admission of other and later ecclesiastical ordinances, such as the needs of the churches of different countries would naturally call for. Such was the case in particular with the Gallic and Spanish recensions of this collection. Among these latter, there was one especially known by the venerated name of Isidore of Seville.* Another, however, appeared under the same name in the ninth century, which contained a complete series of the decretals of the Roman bishops from Clement downwards—most of them pieces entirely unknown before, but some of them interpolated,† at an earlier period, with many alterations and inserted clauses. This fraud was so clumsily contrived, and ignorantly executed, that had the age been a little more fitted for, or less disinclined to critical investigations, and had the deception itself not fallen in with a predominant interest of the church, it might have been

* It was formed between the years 633 and 636; for it contains the canons of the fourth council of Toledo, of the former year; and a part of the preface to this collection, which has its natural and original place in the same, and must have been taken from it, occurs again in the *Origines* of Isidore, which could not have been produced after the latter year.

† As the first epistle of Clement to James, translated by Rufinus.

easily detected and exposed. Still its author did not invent and shape according to his own will the language attributed to those ancient bishops. The letters were for the most part made up of passages borrowed from far later ecclesiastical documents, which he took the liberty to alter and mutilate so as to suit his purpose and correspond with his notions, not even giving himself the trouble of removing from them things incongruous to the age in which the letters were said to have been written, and not seldom patching them together without any intelligible connection whatsoever. These ancient Roman bishops quote Scripture from a Latin translation, formed from the mixture of one made by Jerome with another that had been current in earlier times. They refer to relations between the state and the church, which could not possibly have existed in the age when these letters purport to have been written.* We meet in them the most extraordinary anachronisms; as, for example, that Victor, bishop of Rome, wrote concerning the contested celebration of passover, to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who lived two centuries later.† The Scriptural passages cited as proofs are altered and mutilated with an effrontery and ignorance equally shameful.‡

In these forged decretals the papal theocratic system is set forth with a completeness, and pushed to an extreme, never before expressed in any connected series of ecclesiastical laws.

* To mention but one example, the Roman bishop Zephyrinus, in his ep. 2. at the close of the second century, *under pagan emperors*, speaks of the expulsion of the bishops, which was forbidden by the *præcepta imperatorum*.

† But he here doubtless was confounded with a bishop Theophilus of Cæsarea, in Palestine, mentioned in the church history of Rufinus;—hence the anachronism.

‡ Thus, for example, in the first letter of Anaclete, the words spoken by the Sodomites against Lot, Gen. xix. 9, are brought forward as evidence against peregrina judicia in ecclesiastical matters; but they are cited as the words of God. Unde et Dominus mentionem faciens Loth per Mosen loquitur, dicens. Again, what is said in Heb. ix. 13, of purification by the blood of Christ as contrasted with the lustrations of the Old Testament, is applied to prove the magical purifying power of consecrated water in the first letter of the bishop Alexander. Nam si cinis vitulæ adpersus sanguine populum sanctificabat (the words ad emendationem carnis, which did not suit the purpose, must of course be left out) atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale adpersa divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat.

The idea of an inviolable caste of priests, consecrate to God, the fundamental element out of which the entire hierarchical system was composed, and the basis on which it reposes, was here brought out and defended by employing and perverting Scriptural texts, especially from the Old Testament, in a manner the most bold and the most directly at variance with the spirit of the gospel. The priests were represented as the apple of God's eye, the *familiares Dei*, the *spirituales*, as opposed to the *carnales*, the term which was applied to the laity. Whoever sinned against them sinned against God himself, as they were the representatives of God and Christ. Men were to see Christ in them. The priests were subject to no secular tribunal; on the contrary, God had constituted them the judges over all. The passage in Ps. lxxxii. 1, was often applied to them. "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, *he* judgeth among the gods." All who were oppressed should be able to look to the priests, and with them find protection. It is carefully inculcated that bad priests, if they do not fall from the faith, must be tolerated, as sent by God; and that the laity could in no case be set as judges over them. Complaints against ecclesiastics are hedged round with the greatest possible number of difficulties; and in that state of the church, where a large portion of the clergy were so destitute of personal dignity, it was in truth necessary, in order to maintain the dignity of the priesthood, that it should be rendered as independent as possible of personal worth. If the priests should once come to be regarded as organs for the transmission of magical virtues—as it is made a prominent point in these decretals that by the priest's words Christ's body is produced—with this would easily be associated the idea that, although it were greatly to be wished the priests should, by their personal character, always prove to be worthy organs, yet, even independently of this personal worth, they must ever be regarded with reverence as the vehicles through whom these divine virtues are communicated to men. The inviolability of the church is sharply defined and strongly insisted upon, as well with reference to the property as to the persons consecrated to its service. A trespass against this inviolability is represented as sacrilegium, a sin against God, the most enormous of crimes.*

* In the second letter of Pius, which characteristically marks the spirit

The principles inculcated with regard to the objective importance of the priesthood generally, were now applied especially to the office of bishops, as those to whom the power to bind and to loose had been given by Christ. Men should respect even the unjust decision of a bishop; though the latter ought to be careful never to make such a decision. Thus the fear of the ecclesiastical sentence was alone to be strongly impressed on the laity.* The bishops were especially to be represented as inviolable persons, to be protected against both the arbitrary will of secular power and also the attack of other ecclesiastical authorities, such as the metropolitans, with whom the bishops in the Frankish empire were frequently in dispute. Both were closely connected in the church theocratical plan; for the prince might be enabled, by employing dependent bishops as his instruments, to force from his station any one of them who had incurred the prince's displeasure. The only means for maintaining the independence and inviolability of the bishops was for them to possess, in a head over the entire church, a secure refuge against every arbitrary procedure and oppressive measure, on the part of the secular power, and of their ecclesiastical superiors and colleagues; to make the pope the judge over the bishops in the last resort, from whom there could be no appeal. Thus, then, was presented a coherent organism of ecclesiastical powers, evolved in a regular gradation. Over the metropolitans were placed the primates and patriarchs; but over *all* presided the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, on whom in particular Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It was repeatedly inculcated that the church of Rome was directly constituted head over all the others by Christ himself. The episcopal chair of Peter, the *principes apostolorum*, had been transferred, on grounds of convenience, from Antioch to Rome.† The church of Rome, which appoints and consecrates all bishops, is therefore the sole and sufficient judge, in the last resort, over the same, to which

of these decretals in reference to morals: *Non gravius peccatum est fornicatio quam sacrilegium; sed sicut majus est peccatum, quod in Deum committitur, quam quod in hominem, sic gravius sacrilegium agere quam fornicari.*

* In the letters of Urban: *Valde timenda est sententia episcopi, licet injuste liget aliquem, quod tamen summopere prævidere debet.*

† *Jubente Domino*, as is said in the first letter of Marcellus.

in all cases they may appeal.* Among the important affairs which could not be decided without the authority of the pope, belonged the cases of bishops. In one of the decretals† the condition is indeed expressed, that whenever an appeal is made it should be reported to the pope; but in other places it is expressly declared, as indeed it follows, as a matter of course, from the principle lying at the ground of these decretals, that a decisive sentence can in no case whatsoever be passed upon bishops, without the concurrence of the Romish church, as well as that no regular synod can be convoked without its authority.‡ Hence it followed again that the pope, whenever he thought proper, could bring the cause before his own tribunal, even where no appeal had been made, in case the bishop, as might indeed often happen under the circumstances of those times, had not dared to appeal; and the decision of the pope must be acknowledged and carried into effect without demur.§ Moreover, it is already intimated in these decretals that the emperor Constantine had transferred his sovereign authority in Rome to the Roman bishop.||

But whoever may have been the author of this forged collection,¶ we assuredly cannot give him the credit, from anything which he exhibits in this work, of possessing the creative intellect which would have been capable of producing, out of its own resources, a new system of ecclesiastical government; nor would any system, thus produced, have ever been able to

* In the first letter of Marcellus: *ut inde accipiant tuitionem et liberationem, unde acceperunt informationem atque consecrationem.*

† In the first letter of Anaclete.

‡ In the first letter of Marcellus: *ut nulla synodus fieret præter ejus sedis auctoritatem, nec ullus episcopus nisi in legitima synodo suo tempore apostolica auctoritate convocata super quibuslibet criminibus pulsatus audiatur vel judicetur.*

§ Vid. Sixti, ep. 2.

|| Epistola Melchiadis. *Ut sedem imperialem, quam Romani principes possederant, relinquerent et Petro suisque præsulibus profuturam concederet.*

¶ The Deacon Benedictus Levita of Mentz, by adopting a great deal out of these decretals into a collection of Capitularies, compiled by him about the year 845, and at the same time by his mode of speaking of them, exposed himself to the suspicion of having been concerned in their fabrication. It is foreign from our purpose to enter into a more full investigation respecting the origin and author of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals; it was simply our endeavour to contemplate this collection as a product of the church spirit of the times, and on the side of its reacting influence on that spirit.

gain such universal acceptance. He was, at all events, but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit which prevailed with the great mass of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code ; but only of presenting, in a connected form, the principles which must be recognized by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the church ; and it is easy to see how a man so little capable of going beyond his own narrow circle, and of rightly understanding the words of others, spoken under the circumstances and relations of other times, might conceive that he found a support for those principles in many declarations of the older fathers. In truth, even what had been said by a Leo the Great, concerning the pope's primacy over the whole church, involves the principle of all that is to be found in these decretals ; though Leo could not realize, in his own age, those outlines of the ideal of a papacy which floated before his mind. But supposing that the author of the decretals was convinced it would be doing God service to bring these principles together in a compendious form, and introduce them more certainly into the practice of the church, by the use of names held in general veneration, then he might also consider a pious fraud allowable for so holy an end ; for this erroneous principle, which was upheld by not a few authorities of ecclesiastical antiquity, had found admission with many who had not been led by the influence of an Augustin to the opposite persuasion ; and such an opinion must always find admission where a party-interest is confounded with the cause of God and the truth, and a party-conscience decides the course of duty. Moreover, there were already to be found, in that period, many forged writings, composed in the interest of the hierarchy ; for pope Hadrian himself had appealed to such, which were preserved in the Roman archives ; and it was by such forgeries already existing that Alcuin was deceived, when he cited them in support of the position that the pope could judge over all, but could be judged by no man.*

Nor can it be supposed that the author of the decretals intended, by this collection, *merely* to diffuse abroad the above-mentioned principles concerning the power of the church, concerning the several grades of ecclesiastical power, and concerning the papal monarchy, and that all the rest was intro-

* Alcuin, ep. 92.

duced only as occasional and subordinate matter, and to render the deception more attractive. We have no reason for denying that what he elsewhere says concerning the external forms of the church, the magical, sanctifying effects of the sacraments, and other outward things,* were considered by him equally important. At the bottom of all lay the same mode of apprehending Christianity, with which this church-system was ever found to be connected. In a word, the author or authors of this collection were but the organ for expressing this rude and grossly Jewish mode of apprehending Christianity, for which many others might have served equally as well. And it is with this production, as with many others which have arisen in the same manner;† we see in it only the expression of a certain tendency of the ecclesiastical spirit of the age, where very little depends on the individual character of the agent employed, he being an accident, which in this relation vanishes to insignificance. But this product of the spirit of the times, by the way in which, and the authority with which, it diffused abroad the principles growing out of that spirit, and opposed to the old ecclesiastical laws, reacted powerfully back again upon the spirit which gave birth to it. Nor could it fail to happen, on the other hand, that the ancient tendency of the church laws should be aroused to a conflict with these new principles before they could be generally acknowledged. This conflict is the most important fact connected with the history of the papacy in the next succeeding times. But first of all it will be necessary to glance at the antecedent and preparatory circumstances of the times, that is, at the age of Lewis the Pious.

The legal order and the energy of the government under Charlemagne, were not favourable to the exercise of such principles as were expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals; but following after the energetic reign of Charlemagne came the feeble one of the well-meaning, but, as an independent ruler, incapable, monarch, Lewis the Pious. This gave rise to many abuses, or allowed such as were repressed before to get the

* That of course being excepted, which, on the ground of those accounts contained in the *liber pontificalis*—that untrustworthy collection of the lives of the Roman bishops—he was obliged to say, in order to give his fictions some appearance of a historical foundation.

† E. g. the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, respecting which there are some excellent remarks in Vogt's latest work upon them.

upper hand. Soon after followed those political disorders in the Frankish empire which grew out of the quarrels of Lewis with his sons. Distraction and weakness here gave many opportunities for the church to interfere in the political strifes. Wala, abbot of Corbie, a kinsman of the emperor, and Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, then stood at the head of the party which contended for the independence and sovereignty of the church; and though it cannot be denied that by suffering themselves to be entangled in the interests of an excited party, these men may have been so far misled as to call that a good cause in which the most sacred duties were grossly violated, yet neither can it be concealed that the mode of presenting to benefices, and the intrusion of rude laymen into the administration of the property of the church, gave occasion for much just complaint. When the reigning evils were first brought into discussion, in the year 829, the abbot Wala declared that everything depended on keeping the line of demarcation clearly drawn between the ecclesiastical and the civil province, the king and the bishops concerning themselves only about the affairs which belonged to their respective callings.* But when pope Gregory IV. came to France as mediator in the disputes between the emperor Lewis and his sons, and the rumour got abroad that he would decide in favour of the latter, he met, from the bishops belonging to the emperor's party, a very unfavourable reception, and the stand which they took against him proves how far it was from being even yet a common thing in France to acknowledge the supreme judicial authority of the pope in all matters; and the consciousness of defending against the pope the cause of divine justice, contributed, no doubt, to render their language still more emphatic. They addressed him as a colleague; they called him brother;† they reminded him of his oath of allegiance to the emperor; they assured him that if he had come to excommunicate them he might perhaps return home excommunicated himself; *they threatened him*

* See his Life of Paschasius Radbert. Mabillon, Acta sanct. Sæc. IV. P. I. l. II. f. 491. Habeat rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiæ suæ ad dispensandum, habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum, quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servientium usibus suis commissam ministris fidelibus.

† The pope in his reply declares it a contradiction to call him at once papa and frater.

*with deposition.** The pope was thrown by all this into the utmost consternation: but Wala proved to him by declarations of the older church-teachers, and of his own predecessors, that he had, in no respect, overstepped the limits of his authority by interfering in these affairs, for it belonged to him, as St. Peter's successor, to send his delegates to all nations to preach the faith, and to promote the peace of the church. He was judge over all, none could be judge over him. By these representations the pope was reassured; he issued a circular letter to the bishops, reproaching them with their want of respect for his authority. The bishops, seized with indignation, that the pope should espouse so bad a cause, had made a distinction between the pope's person, and the dignity of the apostolical chair, which they were careful to hold sacred; but the pope would not allow the validity of any such distinction, being of the opinion that the respect due to the *cathedra pontificalis* was also due to the person who occupied it, in proof of which he alleged that by virtue of his station the gift of prophecy was ascribed even to a cruel and unbelieving Caiaphas. He repelled their threats, however, not merely on the ground that they had no right whatever to judge him, but because these threats were given on no sufficient cause of provocation.† Meantime the authority of the pope prevailed to such a degree that the unlawful proceedings of the sons of Lewis obtained a momentary appearance of justification in the eyes of the people, and the emperor was forsaken by the major part of his army.

A new epoch in the history of the papacy begins with pope Nicholas I., in the year 858. Not only did he with a clear consciousness of his aim, a firm consistency, and an unceremonious use of his power, attempt to realise the ideal of the

* Not only is this said by Paschasius Radbert, in the Life of Wala, l. c. f. 511. quod eundem apostolicum, quia non vocatus venerat, deponere deberent, but Gregory IV. in his letter in reply, intimates that such a threat had been expressed by them; quod minari vos cognoscimus periculum gradus. See the fragment of the letter in Agobard, opp. ed. Baluz. T. II. p. 60.

† Quantum sit absurdum et stultum, cum vestra comminatio non sit propter crimen, homicidium scilicet, sacrilegium aut furtum vel aliquid hujusmodi, sed nisi ita venerimus, sicut ipsi vultis. And: nullo modo fieri potest, ut si is qui locum Petri tenet, exhonoretur, sine crimine duntaxat, cathedra ejus honorata permaneat.

papacy sketched forth in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, but he expressly cited these decretals in justification of his proceedings; and then for the first time they were introduced into the use of the church. Nicholas acted under the belief, which he also expressed, that to him was entrusted the oversight and governance of the whole church; that it was for him to see to the removal of all abuses, to the maintenance and observance of the laws, and to the punishment of injustice in the whole church; that he employed the bishops as his instruments, though entitled to do everything from the plenitude of his own power.* He conceived the plan of convoking synods in Rome, composed of bishops from different countries, so that by their collected reports the wants of the different churches might be known; of advising with these bishops, who could support him by their knowledge of particular nations and their circumstances, concerning the most suitable arrangements to meet these wants, and of providing by these means for the promulgation of the new ordinances in all countries.†

It could not fail to make a salutary impression in favour of the papacy on public opinion, that the pope made his supreme judicial authority over monarchs and bishops respected in one case, where he appeared as the protector of oppressed innocence, and a punisher of prelates who had forgotten their duty; where he employed his spiritual power to compel even the mighty of the earth to respect a sacred law; where it was shown by example, how beneficially in this rude state of society such a power, placed at the head of the whole church governance, could operate as a check upon the immorality of arbitrary self-will. Lothaire, ruler over the kingdom called after his own name Lotharingia, accustomed to obey only his own sinful lusts, was determined to get rid of his lawful wife Thietberga, so as to open the way for his marrying the guilty

* See ep. 18. to king Charles the Bald: *Sedes hæc sancta atque præcipua in omnibus mundi partibus dispositione salubri cuncta ordinare proficereque divino freta procurat auxilio, et quod singulari pro auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpe sacerdotum decernit definire consilio.* Harduin. T. V. f. 232.

† Si ex diversis provinciis fratres invicem convenissent, et nos consensu illorum quæ decernenda sunt decerneremus et ipsi necessitates suas referentes et nos nostras exponentes, quæ decreta fuissent melius in omnium notitiam facerent pervenire. Vid. ep. 27. ad Ludovicum Germ. et Carol. Calvum, l. c. f. 245.

Waldrade, the object of a criminal passion. To render this possible according to the laws, which made the sacrament of marriage an indissoluble contract, he took counsel of certain vile ecclesiastics, who set him upon inventing an accusation against Thietberga to be industriously circulated in the form of a calumnious report, by means of which it was designed to procure a declaration that the marriage contract with her was rendered null and void. By threats and force the unfortunate woman was reduced to the necessity of resorting, as the only means of deliverance from these oppressions, and of securing for herself a peaceful retreat in a convent, to a confession, though under protest that it was extorted by force, that this calumnious report was true. A synod at Aix, composed of bishops wholly subservient to the guilty pleasures of their prince, declared Lothaire's first marriage invalid, and gave him permission to conclude the marriage with Waldrade. Thietberga afterwards made her escape, and took refuge with Lothaire's uncle, Charles the Bald, king of France, and under his protection appealed to the pope. Previously to this, Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, had protested against the proceedings of those bishops,* and had already declared, that the monarch, like every other man, must be strictly judged by the laws of the church. The pope brought the affair before his own tribunal. He convoked a synod at Metz for the purpose of entering into a new investigation of the whole matter, in which however that they might proceed more independently of the influence of Lothaire, not only Lotharingian but also French and German bishops were directed to assist; namely, two bishops from the kingdom of Charles the Bald, two from that of Lewis of Germany, his uncles; and two from the kingdom of his brother, Charles king of Provence. Two bishops sent by himself were to be present as his legates; and he reserved to himself the power of confirming the proceedings of this synod, according to their report which should be transmitted to him. He threatened Lothaire with excommunication, unless he appeared before the tribunal of this synod, afforded the satisfaction which it might require of him, and put away the sin of which he might be found guilty.†

* See his tract written expressly on this subject.

† See ep. 22. ad episcopos Galliæ et Germaniæ, l. c. f. 237.

But without waiting for the pope's decision, Lothaire, in the year 862, celebrated his marriage with Waldrade, calculating that he should be able to make the synod convened by the pope at Metz for the new investigation of the matter, entirely subservient to his own will. He so arranged it by his intrigues that none but Lotharingian bishops, by presents or threats made dependent on himself* met at the council in 863; and the two archbishops, Thietgaud of Triers, and Gunther of Cologne, who from the first had been humble instruments of the king in the whole of this affair, had the direction of the assembly. The papal legates had also been won over to his interests by bribery. Thus the decision of the synod turned out according to the king's wishes. They drew up for the pope a respectful report of their decrees; and urged perhaps by some misgivings of conscience, these two archbishops repaired in person to Rome, for the purpose of securing a favourable reception of their decision. But the object which Nicholas had in view was not simply to uphold the authority of his papal primacy, which indeed was in this case disputed by neither party, but to use this authority for the protection of a holy law, and in behalf of justice and innocence. At a synod held at Rome in the same year, he decided, after a careful investigation of all the facts, that the decrees of the synod convened at Metz, which council had presumed to anticipate the final sentence of the pope, and impertinently violated the ordinances of the apostolic chair, were null and void; that such an assembly, favouring the cause of adulterers, was not entitled to the name of a synod;† that the two archbishops, as men who had unrighteously trampled on the apostolical ordinances and the rules of justice, should be deposed from their episcopal offices, and rendered incapable of any priestly function. The rest of the bishops who had subscribed their names to those foolish proceedings,‡ should be pardoned only on condition that, in their own persons or by their delegates, they testified their repentance§ and their submission to the

* Quos vel beneficiis vel minis jam ad votum suum deflexerat, says the pope, in his 55th letter to king Lewis of Germany. Harduin. T. V. f. 288.

† Nec vocari synodum, sed tanquam adulteris faventem prostibulum appellari decernimus.

‡ Gesta insania.

§ At a later period he wrote to the bishops of Lotharingia (ep. 49,

decrees of the apostolical chair, from which they had received the episcopal dignity.*

The two archbishops, however, considered this sentence of the pope alone, without the concurrence of a larger synod composed of metropolitans, before which they should have been cited, and where their defence should have first been heard, as an act of despotic and arbitrary will. They inspired the mind of Lothaire's brother, the emperor Lewis, who was at that time in Italy at the head of an army, with violent indignation, by complaining of the grievous insult done to the envoys of that prince, in their own persons. He marched with his army to Rome, for the purpose of compelling the pope to retract his sentence, or at any rate of vindicating the injured honour of the imperial dignity; but the pope, conscious of the righteousness of his cause, and of the divine call in obedience to which he had acted, would neither allow himself to be terrified, nor consent to make the slightest concessions. He decreed a general fast and a penitential procession, that the Almighty might be entreated to inspire the emperor with a right disposition and respect for the authority of St. Peter. The procession was disturbed by the rude soldiery, and the pope obliged to retire for safety to the church of St. Peter, where he spent two days and two nights in fasting. Here he calmly awaited the issue. The unruffled dignity which he preserved, in the consciousness of maintaining a holy cause and of obeying a divine call, would naturally prove victorious over rude force, governed only by passion. The conscience of those who were acting, not by any fixed principles but only by the impulse of momentary excitement, would easily be terrified by any concurrence of circumstances which they interpreted as tokens of the divine anger. A soldier, who, in the confusion which followed the disturbance of that religious procession, had dashed in pieces a cross borne by one of the priests, and held in peculiar veneration, suddenly died. The emperor himself was attacked with a fever. By these occurrences, he himself,

f. 263). Perhaps the evil would already have come to an end, if some of them had not looked to their own things more than to those of Jesus Christ. *Quidam sibi peritura seu toxicata beneficia subtrahi metuunt, pro justitia quidem loqui renuunt, favere autem mœchis tota virtute contendunt ac per hoc æternis beneficiis justo judice decernente privantur.*

* Unde eos principium episcopatus sumsisse manifestum est.

or his wife, was thrown into great consternation. He sent her away to the pope, and became reconciled with him.

Although the emperor now dropped the cause of the two archbishops, yet the latter by no means gave up their resistance. They published a protest against the pope's sentence, and a circular letter addressed to the bishops, wherein they declared their cause to be one which involved the interests of the whole body.* They accused him of aiming to make himself lord over all. They declared that, satisfied themselves with the fellowship of the whole church, they would not admit the pope into theirs.† They moreover connected themselves afterwards with the patriarch Photius of Constantinople, the latter being involved in a quarrel with pope Nicholas.‡ But although the two archbishops might adduce in their defence the principles of the older constitution of the church, yet however much favoured by the *form* of right, the *matter* of it was too decidedly against them to enable them to succeed in contending with a power which the prevailing tendency of the times, by a principle inherent in it, was more and more determined to favour.

When Gunther of Cologne, in defiance of the papal interdict, continued still to exercise the episcopal functions, this appeared to his contemporaries the impious act of a man who had forgotten there was a God.§ The pope, on hearing of it, excluded him and all who followed him from the communion of the church. No intercession of princes and bishops could prevail on Nicholas to remit any part of the sentence which he had pronounced on the two prelates. The most he would allow them to hope, in case they should endeavour to retrieve the wrong they had done, and should manifest true repentance, was, that he would then bestow on them other church benefices.|| But he constantly insisted that they should never be restored to their episcopal rank, nor ever be capable of administering

* Nec nostræ vilitatis personam attendentes, sed omnem nostri ordinis universitatem, cui vim inferre conaris, præ oculis habentes. See, respecting this whole event, the continuation of the *Annales Bertiniani* in *Pertz Monumentis Hist. Germ. T. I. f. 463.*

† Te ipsum in communionem nostram recipere nolumus, contenti totius ecclesiæ communione.

‡ See below.

§ In the above cited *Annals*, f. 465: *Missas celebrare et sacrum chrisma conficere ut homo sine Deo præsumsit.*

|| See ep. 37, to Hinkmar of Rheims.

again the sacerdotal office. The Lotharingian bishops humbly sued the pope for pardon, which he granted, severely reproving them at the same time for the neglect of their duty as pastors, and imputing it to their fault that Lothaire's impiety had proceeded to such an extreme. Lothaire sought in vain to win the pope by professions of submission. He offered to come himself to Rome for the purpose of justifying his conduct personally before him; but Nicholas declared, that he could not appear before him so stained as he was with sin. He ought not to attempt it; for he could neither be received with honour at Rome, nor return back with honour to his home.* He required absolutely, that Lothaire should in the first place abstain from his criminal connection with Waldrade; that he should send her to Rome, that she might there be condemned to a suitable church penance, and that he should receive and treat Thietberga as his lawful wife. Nor did he suffer himself to be deceived by any pretended compliances, or rest, till in the year 865 Thietberga was given over by a papal legate to Lothaire, in the presence of the majority of his nobles, when he received her and promised on his oath that he would treat her for the future as his lawful wife and queen. Waldrade was required to accompany the legate to Rome, but was seized and carried off during the journey. Lothaire's wickedness devised a new expedient for the gratification of his lust. By ill-treatment he reduced Thietberga to such a strait, that with her own hand, and, as she said, altogether of her own accord, she wrote to the pope, declaring that her marriage with Lothaire had never been a valid one; that Waldrade was Lothaire's lawful wife; and expressing her resolution to consecrate herself from thenceforth to a life of chastity. But even by this the pope did not suffer himself to be balked. He replied to Thietberga in a letter written with much dignity,† "That he could not believe what she affirmed, since it was confuted by the reports which he had received from all pious men in Germany and France about the ill-treatment suffered

* See ep. 27, to Lewis, king of the Germans, and Charles the Bald: Cui interdiximus, et omnino interdicimus ut iter talis qualis nunc est non arripiat, eo quod Romana ecclesia talem respuat et contemnat; and ep. 55, to Lewis, king of the Germans: Si contra propositum nostrum forte præsumserit, minime qua cupit honestate vel hic suscipietur vel hinc profecto regredietur.

† Ep. 48.

by her ; hence he had long foreseen that she would write to him thus." He admonished her not to suffer herself by any fear or force to be compelled to utter a falsehood, but to continue steadfast and unshaken in testifying the truth. Should she die for confessing that, it would be equivalent to martyrdom ; for as Christ is the truth, it might be certainly affirmed, that whoever dies for the truth dies for Christ. For himself, he said he could not permit so great a crime to strike root, which if it were not utterly extirpated, must redound to the ruin of many. If he let this thing go, it would come to that pass, that every husband, as soon as he began to dislike his lawful wife, would compel her by ill-treatment to declare the marriage contract invalid, and herself guilty of any crime, which might be conjured up against her.* But he also gave her to understand that she need have no fears for her life ; for Lothaire would know for certainty, that if he dared commit so abominable a crime, or to plot against her life in any way whatsoever, he would by so doing only prepare the way for his own ruin and that of his kingdom. But even should she die, Lothaire should never be allowed to marry the adulteress Waldrade. "Be sure of one thing," said he to her, "that in obedience to the will of that God who is the judge of adulterers, neither will we endure, nor will the holy church allow it to happen, that Lothaire shall go unpunished, should he ever venture, after your decease, to take Waldrade again to himself.† Nor could he, according to the laws of the church, permit Thietberga to take the vow of chastity, except in case both the wives, of their own free accord, came to the same resolution." —If, after all, the pope found it impossible to force Lothaire to the fulfilment of his duty towards his lawful wife, still it had an important influence on the moral condition of the age, that by his means a check was put to public scandals, and a just respect created for the sanctity of the laws. The same zeal for maintaining inviolate the marriage relation, was likewise shown by the pope in other cases.‡

* "Sed nos," says the pope, "tales fraudes præcavere debemus, et ne proficiant, in ipso novitatis eorum principio detruncare."

† Unum tamen scito, quoniam nec nos nec eadem sancta ecclesia, Deo auctore, qui adulteros judicabit, Lotharium, si Waldradam quandoque resumerit, etiam te decedente, dimittet omnibus modis impunitum.

‡ As in the affair of Ingeltrud and of the count Boso.

In still another contest, where the pope was brought into collision with the most important defender of the old ecclesiastical freedom, and of the old ecclesiastical laws, he came off victorious. This was an affair, in which he seems to have been more governed by the interests of the papal primacy, which inclined him to favour the appellants, than by the rights of justice and innocence; and he was here brought into conflict with a man of quite a different stamp from the wretched Lothaire, with a man who contended, and that too with great energy and firmness, for principles. This was Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims. Hinkmar, at a synod held in Soissons, A.D. 863, had pronounced sentence of deposition upon bishop Rothad, with whom he had long been at variance. Rothad was accused of trespassing, in various ways, upon the metropolitan rights of his superior, and of many violations of pastoral duty. Here, however, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the accusations of Hinkmar, a passionate and ambitious man, cannot be regarded as unimpeachable evidence against a bishop who was his subordinate. Rothad appealed, it is true, to the pope; and his appeal had been recognized; but it was affirmed, though not admitted by Rothad, that by a subsequent step he had taken back that appeal, and chosen the bishops themselves for his judges, so that, according to the laws of the church respecting judges chosen by the defendant himself, no further appeal was admissible. The synod made report of their proceedings in a respectful manner to the pope, and requested him to confirm them; but Nicolaus declined doing this till he should have examined further into the matter, many other bishops having already interceded for Rothad. He insisted that either Hinkmar should at once restore Rothad to his office, upon his acknowledging that he had done wrong; or that Rothad, in pursuance of his appeal, should come to Rome, and Hinkmar personally, or by delegates, there present the charges he had against him. The pope carried his point so far as this, that Rothad, in the year 864, came to Rome and handed over to him his defence. There he remained nine months, and as no accuser, in compliance with the pope's invitation, appeared against him, the pope declared the sentence that had been passed against him invalid; and Rothad, who returned with an emphatic letter of the pope to the king and to the

archbishop, was, without a word of opposition, reinstated in his office.

Still more important than the immediate object here gained, was the manner in which it was effected. That it would have been right in the pope to order a new investigation of Rothad's cause, in case the latter had persevered in his appeal, was a point on which Hinkmar and the French bishops certainly did not entertain a doubt. They simply maintained that his appeal had been withdrawn by a later step which he had taken. This Rothad denied; and on this ground Nicholas may have considered himself justified, on a principle generally acknowledged, to bring the cause before his own tribunal. But it was upon other principles that he chiefly defended the legality of his procedure, and it was other principles which he purposely made prominent. He affirmed that, even if the supposition were correct, on which the bishops here proceeded; even if Rothad had not appealed, still they were not warranted, unless they had received plenary power for that purpose from the pope, to judge a bishop. Assuredly the affairs of the bishops, if any whatever, belonged to the class of *causæ majores*, reserved for the decision of the pope.* The principles on which Nicholas proceeded were the following, which flowed immediately out of his idea of the papacy. The care of the whole church, which is committed to the successors of St. Peter, passes through all the divers organs, which form the members of the ecclesiastical body, back to the pope. Now in what way could this be applied to the case of the metropolitans, if they might act independently of the pope in a matter of so much importance as pronouncing definitive sentence upon a bishop? The pope here stood forth as the champion of the episcopal dignity. Why should not their affairs belong to the class of *causæ majores*, since they occupy the most important position in the church,—are pillars in the house of God? The metropolitans, in truth, did not constitute a distinct and separate order in the church; and as certainly, therefore, as it belonged to the pope alone to judge

* E. g. in the letter to the French bishops, with which he sent Rothad back to France. *Etsi sedem apostolicam nullatenus appellasset, contra tot tamen et tanta vos decretalia efferri statuta et episcopum inconsultis nobis deponere nullo modo debuistis.* Harduin. T. V. f. 591.

them, so certainly did it belong to him alone to judge bishops. The pope has to care for the whole church, hence also for all its *individual* members, even for the laity. This might suffice to show, that the pope was authorized to bring before his own judicature all affairs whatsoever, if he deemed it necessary or expedient. And we perceive here, how the bishops themselves, in things which seemed to them to be of no very great importance, contributed, involuntarily and unwittingly, to lay the foundation of an unlimited papal monarchy, by occasioning or suffering that to be done in the course of ecclesiastical business which could be made use of as an unanswerable authority to establish all its claims. The pope, for example, appealed to the fact, that almost every day, laymen, either of their own impulse or sent by the bishops, came from different countries to Rome, to receive a definitive judgment from the highest spiritual tribunal, and that by this tribunal absolution was either given or denied them.* The pope then argued a *minori ad majus*: how absurd, that when you yourselves send the most trifling causes in the church to the pope, for his decision, you should reserve the bishops, the most important members of the church, for your own courts alone.†

To demonstrate the truth of these assertions respecting his jurisdiction, the pope, if he did not find more than they contained in the older records of the church (as undoubtedly he did), had only to cite the declarations of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, and these he cited abundantly. The French bishops, who would have concerned themselves no further about the matter had the pope cited these decretals on any other occasion, now became suspicious, because these decretals were employed to establish that which was contrary to their own church interests. They looked into their *codex canonum* (their uncorrupted Dionysian Collection), and found in it no such laws. This difficulty they made known to the pope.‡

* *Laici, quos pæne quotidie cum vestris et sine vestris epistolis ad discutiendos et judicandos suscipimus, et discussos vel judicatos vel absolutos dimittimus.*

† *Absurdum est enim, ut laicos quosque et minimos, qui sunt in ecclesiis vestris, nostro mittatis judicandos iudicio et addatis quotidiano labori, et episcopos, qui præcipua ecclesiæ membra sunt, vestræ subdatis deliberationis arbitrio.*

‡ *Haud illa decretalia in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta.*

But the pope affirmed, on the other hand, that the decrees of the popes must be admitted, whether they were to be found in that collection or not. He here fell into the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, which the bishops might easily detect, since their difficulty related simply to the question—though they may not have been so clearly aware of it themselves—whether those decrees really proceeded from the popes whose names they bore. Nicholas could turn to still better advantage their own logical inconsistency and incapacity for critical investigations, in matters not touching their own immediate interests; since he was able to say, that they themselves had oftentimes cited in their letters, those very decretals, when they could make them subservient to their own purposes.*

Nicholas was possessed with the idea that the papacy was to be the foundation pillar of the theocracy, on which the weal of the whole Christian community, in church and state, must repose; so that it must be the interest of all to defend the rights of the apostolical see. "How could it be possible," he writes to king Charles the Bald of France,† "for us, if occasion required it, to do anything for the advancement of your kingdom, or of the churches of your kingdom, or to afford you any protection against your adversaries, if you, so far as it depends on your government, should suffer those privileges to be curtailed, by means of which your ancestors attained to every increase of their dignity, and to all their glory?"‡ An incidental remark of this sort gives us an insight into the connection of ideas in the pope's mind, and hints to us what extent of power he attributed to the popes, in reference to the determination of political matters. Perhaps he may have had in mind here the regal dignity of Pipin, the imperial dignity of Charlemagne. The privileges of the Roman church, says he, are the remedy against all the evils

* Cum ipsi, ubi suæ intentioni hæc suffragari conspiciunt, illis indifferenter utantur et solum nunc ad imminutionem potestatis sedis apostolicæ et ad suorum augmentum privilegiorum minus accepta esse perhibeant nam nonnulla eorum scripta penes nos habentur, quæ non solum quorumcunque Romanorum pontificum, verum etiam priorum decreta in suis causis præferre noscuntur.

† Ep. 30.

‡ Quibus usi patres vestri omne suarum dignitatum incrementum omnemque gloriam perceperunt.

of the Catholic church; they are the weapons against all the attacks of wickedness, the means of protection for the priests of the Lord, and for all who are in authority, as well as for all who are in any way oppressed by those in authority.* As reference had been made to the principle of the Roman law, according to which there could be no appeal from judges chosen by the person accused; he declared, on the contrary, in perfect consistency with his theocratical standing-point, that the laws of the emperors, which the church had often employed against heretics and tyrants, were not, indeed, to be rejected; but they must be subordinated, however, to the ecclesiastical laws, and could in no case decide against them.† He wrote to the bishops, that it was for their own interest to see that these privileges were maintained; for what happened to-day to Rothad, might happen to any other one of them to-morrow, and where then would they find protection?‡

When archbishop Hinkmar asked him to confirm their privileges to the Frank churches, he reminded him, that with the privileges of the Romish church all others which proceeded from the latter must fall.§ Thus in fact no branch of the papal theocratic monarchy, whether in relation to spiritual or secular matters, could unfold itself at any later period, which had not been already contained in the idea of the papacy, as it was apprehended by a Nicolaus.

The successor of this pope, Hadrian II., who attained to the papal dignity in 867, zealously contended, it is true, for the same principles; but not with the same success. So much the louder, therefore, could that powerful defender of ecclesiastical freedom, and of the old ecclesiastical laws, Hinkmar of Rheims, let his voice be heard. When, in the year 869,

* *Privilegia Patri arma sunt contra omnes impetus pravitatum, et munimenta atque documenta Domini, sacerdotum et omnium prorsus, qui in sublimitate consistunt, uno cunctorum, qui ab eisdem potestatibus diversis afficiuntur incommodis.*

† Ep. 32. Ad episcopos synod. Silvanectensis. Quod leges imperatorum evangelicis, apostolicis atque canonicis decreta quibus post ponenda sunt, nullum posse inferre præjudicium asseramus.

‡ L. c. fol. 258.

§ Vid. ep. 28. fol. 248. Quomodo rogo privilegia tua stare poterunt, si ita privilegia illa cessentur, per quæ tua privilegia initium sumsisse noscuntur?

king Lothaire II. died, against whom, down to his death, Hadrian, like his predecessor, had maintained the rigid severity of the judge, his brother, the emperor Lewis II., ought to have been his legal heir; but his uncle, king Charles the Bald of France, took advantage of the unfavourable political situation of Lewis, to make himself master of the countries of the deceased Lothaire. He was acknowledged king by a number of Lotharingian bishops, and crowned by archbishop Hinkmar, in presence of a convocation held at Metz. Pope Hadrian declared strongly against this illegal proceeding, and threatened to resort to the authority of the church against the king, if he did not restore back to his nephew the kingdom of which he had been so wrongfully deprived. He called upon the nobles and bishops of France, particularly Hinkmar, to exhort him to make restitution; but king Charles paid as little respect as did his bishops to these representations. After dividing his kingdom with his brother Lewis of Germany, he was left still more secure in its possession. Incensed at this contempt shown to his papal authority, Hadrian repeated his representations in a still fiercer tone. He severely reprimanded the French bishops, and particularly archbishop Hinkmar. He bade the latter, if the king did not reform, to avoid all fellowship with him, on pain of an excommunication which should light upon himself. He threatened that he would himself come to France. The archbishop Hinkmar upon this issued a letter to the pope, in which, under another name, he told him many bold truths. He quoted to the pope the remarks which had been made by the nobles of the spiritual and secular orders, who were assembled at Rheims, when he communicated to them the pope's declarations. This procedure, they said, was an unheard of thing. Quite differently had earlier popes and other eminent bishops acted. They had never renounced fellowship even with heretical, apostate, tyrannical princes, where it was still necessary to maintain it. But their prince was not such a person; he was a Catholic, desirous of remaining in peace with the church, and prepared to defend himself against every charge, according to the laws of the church and of the state. And to say nothing of what was due to a king, he had not even been accused and informed of his crime, according to the laws of the church and of the state, and as

was required in the case of every freeman in these countries. They reminded him of that which had been done by the older French Monarchs, not by apostolical fulminations, but by brave conduct in the church; how they had delivered the church of Rome from its enemies in Italy; but how, when Gregory IV. came into France, peace had thereby been disturbed, and the pope was forced to return back to Rome, not with becoming honour as his predecessors had done*—a hint, no doubt, at the kind of treatment which the pope had reason to expect, should he carry his project of visiting France into execution. They appealed to the testimonies of secular writings, that the kingdoms of this world were acquired and preserved by the power of the sword, and not by the fulminations of the pope or the bishops; and they appealed to holy writ, where it is said, Ps. xxii. 29, "The kingdom is the Lord's, and by him princes rule and nobles, even all the judges of the earth;" Prov. viii. 16. "And he giveth the kingdom to whomsoever he will;" Dan. iv. 17, "By the hands of angels and of men whom he employs as his ministers." And though we may object to them, says Hinkmar, that which is written in James iv.: "Your sinful passions are the causes of wars, which you wage for the sake of temporal glory; if ye prayed devoutly to the Lord, he would bestow on you all earthly goods needed for your use, and along with these everlasting blessings." For the very reason that it is the Lord who distributes kingdoms, there is need of praying to him; and when we appeal to the power to bind and to loose bestowed on the pope and the bishops, to all this they reply: then by your prayers alone defend the kingdom against the Normans and other enemies, and seek not protection from us. But if *you* would have from us the protection of the sword, as *we* would have the help of your prayers, say to the pope, as he cannot be at once king and bishop, and as his predecessors regulated, as they were bound to do, the relations of the church, and not those of the state, which is the business of princes,† so let him not order us to have for our king one who

* Et ipse papa cum tali honore sicut decuerat, et sui antecessores fecerunt, Romam non rediit.

† Quia rex et episcopus simul esse non potest, et sui antecessores ecclesiasticum ordinem, quod suum est, et non rempublicam, quod regum est, disposuerunt.

lives so remote that he could not defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagan nations ; and let him not wish to make slaves of us Franks, since his predecessors laid no such yoke on our predecessors, nor could we bear it, we who hear it stands written in holy writ, that we must fight to the death for our freedom and birthright. And if a bishop excommunicates a Christian contrary to law, he deprives himself of the power to bind, but cannot deprive any man of eternal life, who is not already deprived of it by his sins. It becomes not a bishop to deny a Christian who has not shown himself incapable of reformation, his name of Christian, not on account of his sins, but on account of the investment of an earthly kingdom ; to give over to the devil one whom Christ came to redeem by his sufferings and his blood from the power of the devil.* We cannot possibly believe a pope who declares we can participate in the kingdom of heaven on no other condition than that of receiving *the earthly* king whom he may please to give us. In his own name, Hinkmar said to the pope, that he did not see how he could refuse all fellowship with his prince, without injury both to his own soul and to his diocese. He reminded the pope of what was taught in the Scriptures and by the older church fathers, respecting the mixture of the bad and the good in the present earthly condition of the church, about the sifting process reserved for the judgment of the Lord, the obedience which every Christian owes to the powers ordained of God, the limits between the spiritual and the secular power—how even Christ paid the tribute-money, and commanded to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He therefore begged the pope not to bid him do that which must inevitably tend to engender a schism betwixt the episcopal authority and the regal power—betwixt the church and the state, which could not easily be removed again without injury to religion and to the church ; and he concluded with expressing a wish that the

* Et si aliquis episcopus aliquem Christianum contra legem excommunicat, sibi potestatem ligandi tollit, et nulli vitam æternam potest tollere, si sua peccata illi eam non tollunt. Et non convenit uni episcopo dicere, ut Christianum, qui non est incorrigibilis, non propter propria crimina, sed pro terreno regno alicui tollendo vel acquirendo nomine Christianitatis debeat privare et eum cum diabolo collocare, quem Christus sua morte et suo sanguine de potestate diaboli venit redimere.

pope would receive this humble representation with the same good will with which the first of the apostles not only suffered himself to be corrected for his dissimulation by a younger apostle, but even endeavoured to satisfy the doubts expressed by his subordinates, and to explain why he went to the uncircumcised gentiles.* These words are aimed without doubt against the arrogant pretensions of the popes, who wanted to rule and decide alone.

Furthermore, Hadrian, like his predecessor, sought in his contest with archbishop Hinkmar, to establish *the principle*, that in the causes of bishops a definitive judicial sentence could come only from the pope.† When the nephew of this archbishop, the younger Hinkmar, bishop of Laon, had, by various acts of arrogant and wanton caprice, violated the laws of the church, when he had in the most insolent manner defied the authority of his king and of his metropolitan, and would not be persuaded by any representations to take the course of prudence and moderation, he was deposed from his office by a synod held at Douzi in 871. The younger Hinkmar, however, was buoyed up by the confidence that he need recognize no other than the pope as his judge. He had refused to acknowledge the synod as a legal tribunal, had appealed to the pope, and supported his protestations by various proofs taken from the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Yet the synod did not allow itself to be embarrassed by that circumstance; they acted according to the old laws of the church, and they afterwards sent their proceedings to the pope, allowing him, conformably to the decrees of the council of Sardica, a right of revision. But Hadrian pronounced that the sentence of the synod was rendered null by the younger Hinkmar's appeal; he required that he, together with his accusers, should be sent to Rome, that the cause might be examined anew by a Roman synod. Thereupon, however, king Charles the Bald issued a letter couched in very strong language, in which we may plainly discern the pen of Hinkmar, against the pretensions and re-

* Et hanc mere subjectionis humillimam suggestionem ea benignitate suscipite, quæ primus apostolorum non solum minoris sui apostoli redargutorem pro simulatione suscepit verum et minorum suorum quaestionem, cur ad præputiatos intraverit, satisfacere ac lenire curavit. See this remarkable letter of Hinkmar in the second volume of his works.

† Opp. II. Hincmar. f. 706.

proaches of the pope. "The pope should understand," he wrote, "that the French kings had ever been held the lords of their country, not the vicegerents of bishops. But what hell was that, which had nevertheless given birth to a law—a law that could not have proceeded from the Spirit of God, for it was such as no Christian and no pagan had ever expressed—that the king appointed of God, that he whom God had armed with the two-edged sword to punish the guilty and to protect the innocent, should not be allowed to judge a criminal in his own state, but must send him to Rome."* The pope now yielded so far as to send the king a new letter, composed in far gentler language, the whole drift and intention of which was to pacify him. This quarrel was of no slight importance, inasmuch as Hinkmar the archbishop was thereby led to expound and defend the principles of the older ecclesiastical law against the new code grounded in the ecclesiastical monarchy of the papacy, and to make a sharp attack for the first time on the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals themselves. In his controversial writing against his nephew, Hinkmar distinguishes the universal and immutable laws given under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the general councils, and valid for the entire church, from such as are valid only for particular times, and for particular and individual portions of the church. No individual, not even a pope, can determine anything in contradiction to the former. By them all other ordinances and determinations are to be tried. The latter may stand in contradiction with each other, and cannot all of them possibly be obeyed at once, for the very reason that they were passed with reference to different and changing circumstances. Hence those individual briefs of the older popes should be received indeed with especial respect, but ought not to be converted into an unchangeable rule of ecclesiastical prescription. Nothing can be derived from them to the prejudice of the universally valid immutable laws of the church. Nothing in the old constitution of the church can thereby be overturned; but the maxim must here be applied: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.† He no doubt also de-

* L. c. f. 709.

† See the *Opusculum* 55, *capitulorum adv. Hincmar. Laudumensem*. T. II. opp. f. 413, 420, 456, 483. *Salva reverentia sedis apostolicæ*

tested the marks of unguineness in those decretals, in so far as things occurred in them which did not correspond with the circumstances of the times from which they were said to have come; and he saw with indignation what they aimed at, and what they must bring about, if they were admitted. The whole church would be reduced to a servile dependence on an individual man. He called those *figmenta compilata* (compiled fictions), a poisoned cup besmeared with honey—because the ill-digested decretals bore on their front the venerable names of the old bishops of the apostolic chair. He compared this compilation with the forbidden fruit, which, promising our first parents independent equality with God, brought on them a miserable bondage. So, doubtless he would say, those decretals promise the bishops full freedom, and independence of the metropolitans, but make them slaves of an individual.* And addressing the bishops as if in the name of the younger Hinkmar,† he says: “Cling only with me to this compilation, and defend it, and you shall owe obedience to no one but the pope; and you shall with me destroy the order of God in the community and the different grades in the episcopacy.”‡ But an energetic opposition of this sort, which however was not carried by Hinkmar into critical details,§ because this lay too remote from the bent of the age,

dico, quia si illa, quæ in eisdem epistolis continentur, et suis temporibus congrua fuerunt, subsequentibus temporibus, ita ut in iis continentur, omnia et in simul custodiri valerent, patres nostri in conciliis leges mansuras usque in sæculi finem non conderent.

* L. c. f. 559 and 560. *Hoc poculum, quod confecisti ex nominibus sanctorum apostolicæ sedis pontificum, quasi ad ora melle oblitum et indiscrete commixtum de quo tibi commissos clericos potionasti, et quod quibusdam episcopis obtulisti, et satanas primis parentibus nostris in paradiso obtulit, quando pomum bonum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis ostendit, eisque dixit; quacunque comederetis ex eo, aperientur oculi vestri et eritis sicut Dii scientes bonum et malum, et quibus promisit divinitatem, tulit immortalitatem et pollicens liberam et nulli subjectam deitatis æqualitatem, captivitatis iis intulit miseram servitutem, quos sibi complices fecerat ad iniquitatem.*

† *Et si forte non verbis, rebus tamen quibusdam episcopis persuadendo.*

‡ *Hanc tenete et evendicate mecum compilationem et nulli nisi Romano pontifici debebitis subjectionem et dissipabitis mecum Dei ordinationem in communis episcopalis ordinis discretam sedibus dignitatem.*

§ In direct contrast with this, is the critical skill subservient to a dogmatic interest, with which, in the time of the Gottschalkian contro-

could be of no avail against these decretals, after they had once gained a current authority in the church,* and consistency in the application of these principles would necessarily lead continually onward from one step to another.

It was favourable for the popes who struggled for the realization of these principles, that while they themselves were inspired by one interest, consistently pursued one idea, they seldom, on the other hand, had for their opponents men of the logical consistency and firm intellect of a Hinkmar. On the contrary, the princes and the major part of the bishops were governed entirely by their momentary interests. Thus king Charles the Bald of France, who had so decidedly supported Archbishop Hinkmar in his contest for the liberty of the church, induced by a momentary political interest, yielded everything to pope John VIII., who, in the year 872, succeeded Hadrian. Desirous of having the voice of the pope on his side when aspiring after the imperial throne against his brother, king Lewis of Germany, he not only allowed the former to bestow it on him in a way which favoured the papal pretensions on this subject, but he made no objections to the step when the pope nominated Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, primate over the French church and apostolical vicar, whereby was conceded to him the right of convoking synods, of making known the papal ordinances to the other bishops, and of reporting ecclesiastical causes to Rome. As by this arrangement the rights of all metropolitans were invaded, Hinkmar protested against it in the strongest terms in a letter addressed to the bishops of France,† where he strenuously defended the rights of the metropolitans, grounded in the universally current laws of the church; and, led by his influence, the bishops declared that they were ready to yield obedience to those decretals only so far as should be found compatible with the rights of the metropolitans and with the ancient laws of the church. The king, however, persisted in maintaining the papal ordinance.

At the close of this, and in the first half of the tenth century, followed a very disgraceful period for the papacy. Rome

versies, the defenders of the strict Augustinian system disproved the genuineness of the Hypomnesticon attributed to Augustin.

* Hinkmar (l. c. f. 476) says the country was full of those decretals.

† Opp. T. II. f. 719.

became the seat of every species of corruption. The influence and rivalry of the most powerful parties attached to noble Italian families produced in that city the greatest disturbances, where there was no power at hand to check the insolence of arbitrary will and prevent inextricable confusion. The markgrave Adelbert, of Tuscany, combined with the vicious Roman women, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, acquired an influence which operated disastrously even on the election of the popes. The papal throne was stained with crimes,* which, had there been the least susceptibility for such an effect in the spiritual life of the nations, would have served beyond anything else to deprive the papal dignity of the sacred character with which it had been invested. The dominant party, grown more and more arrogant, dared, in the year 956, to place on the papal throne Octavian, son of the patrician Alberic, a youth eighteen years old, who took the

* That severe censor of the morals of the clergy, Ratherius, bishop of Verona, who in these times of corruption wrote from his own observation, speaks of the *generalis contemptus, ut neminem invenire eorum valeam curatorem, a vilissimo utique ecclesiæ usque præstantissimum, a laico usque ad pontificem pro nefas! summum!* See his tract de contemptu canonum d'Achery, Spicileg. T. I. p. 347. And the same bishop now speaks, after this, of the fact, that such was the general contempt in which the ecclesiastical laws were held, that a person who, in spite of these laws, had attained to a spiritual office, and pursued the same vicious course of life when a clergyman, might be elevated to the papal dignity; and when such a pope would punish the violation of the ecclesiastical laws in any particular case, he might easily be reminded of his own greater sins, and thus be thrown into greater embarrassment. "Pone quemlibet forte bigamum ante clericatum, forte in clericatu exstittisse lascivum, inde post sacerdotium multinubum, bellicosum, perjurum, venatibus, aucupiis, aleæ vel ebriositæ obnoxium, expeti qualibet occasione ad apostolatam Romanæ illius sedis. Iste igitur si illegalitate publica forte fuerit in apostolica sede locatus, quod utique patienter, ut plurima, permittere valet longanimis Deus, quem si ego adiero, veluti injuriatus ad juris ministrum, et ille nisus injurias vindicare meas, ei apostolicæ auctoritatis miserit literas, nonne ille, qui me tam sacrilege injuriavit, sed non adeo, ut iste, Deum et omnia jura tam divina quam humana — si quidem ille me homunculum unum, iste totum penitus mundum, ille unam adulteravit ecclesiam, iste eandem et omnes per universum orbem diffusas — si mei causa aliquid ei (the violator of the ecclesiastical law) durius mandaverit, nonne illico ille poterit ei rescribere illud de evangelio: Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem autem, quæ in oculo tuo est, non consideras?" L. c. f. 349.

name of John XII.*—the first among the popes that altered his name to a more ecclesiastical form; but he altered nothing in the vicious life which he had always pursued.† The imperial throne of Germany was the first to assist in delivering the Roman church from these abominations, and the unworthy John was himself compelled to serve as an instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose. He had invited the German king, Otho I., to assist him against his enemies, the Italian king Berengar II. and the markgrave Adelbert. He gave Otho, in the year 962, the imperial unction; but afterwards, contrary to his oath, formed an alliance with Otho's enemies. Otho, who heard complaints of him from many quarters, first remonstrated with him by means of an envoy. John offered his youth as an excuse, and promised amendment, which, however, never took place. Invited by the Romans themselves, the emperor now returned to Rome with an army, and the pope fled. The Romans having sworn that they would never elect another pope without the concurrence of the emperor and his son, he held a synod, in the year 963, in the church of St. Peter, and here many grave charges were variously preferred against pope John. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, who afterwards wrote the history of his times, acted as interpreter to the emperor, who could only express himself in the German language. The pope, instead of complying with the invitation to come and defend himself, insolently ventured to threaten the ban, which decided the course of the synod with regard to him. He was deposed, and an archdeacon of the Roman church, in good standing, was chosen pope under the name of Leo VIII.

If, after these occurrences, a new contest with the papal monarchy arose in any quarter, it would be seen whether the

* The corrupt influence of female supremacy in Rome, and the name Joannes, which some of these unworthy popes bore, may perhaps have furnished some occasion for the fabulous legend about pope Joan in the ninth century (855).

† An eye-witness of the moral corruption in Rome, who, if we may judge from a comparison of his statements with other descriptions of the condition of Italy in these times, can hardly be accused of exaggeration, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, says, in his work, *De rebus imperatorum et regum*, lib. VI. c. 6, that at that time *female pilgrims* ought to be afraid to visit Rome.

abominations which had so long polluted the seat of the papal government and the papacy itself, had exerted any important influence on the public opinion with regard to it. Such a contest arose in France, in the time of pope John XV. In the French church, the principles of ecclesiastical freedom, so powerfully advocated by archbishop Hinkmar, always had an important party in their favour. Add to this, that at that time a new spiritual life began to emerge out of the darkness and barbarism of the tenth century. In particular, men like Gerbert, that zealous labourer for the advancement and diffusion of science, who was then secretary and president of the cathedral school attached to the church at Rheims, and Abbo, abbot of the monastery of Fleury, had united their efforts to excite a new scientific spirit and enthusiasm in France. Thus, through a small number of the clergy, of whom Gerbert formed the centre, was diffused a more liberal tone of ecclesiastical law, which would not suffer the condition in which the papacy stood at Rome in these last times, to pass unnoticed. An occasion was soon presented for this party to appear on the public stage.

Hugo Capet, who had made himself master of the royal government in France, was involved in a quarrel with Charles, duke of Lotharingia, the last branch of the Carolingian family. He had bestowed on his opponent's nephew, the young Arnulph, the bishopric of Rheims, vacated by the death of the archbishop Adalbero, expecting thereby to gain him over to his political interests; but Arnulph was afterwards suspected of having treacherously opened the gates of the city to the troops of duke Charles. Arnulph had now gained for himself a party; and as the new king, whose power was not yet fully confirmed, had so much the more cause to humour the public opinion, so in proceeding against Arnulph, he took care to conduct himself with the greatest prudence, and to bring it about that the bishop should be sentenced by the voice of the pope himself. King Hugo, and the French bishops in his interest, applied, in the year 990, to pope John XV., and invited him in the most respectful terms, implying an acknowledgment of his supreme jurisdiction over the whole church, to pass a definitive sentence of deposition on Arnulph, and to assist them in the appointment of a new archbishop. They went so far as to apologize in this letter for not having ap-

plied in any cause, for so long a time, to the Romish church.* But as the other party was seeking also at the same time to gain over the pope, the matter was spun out at great length in Rome, as usually happens when men are trying to find their way out of a dubious and entangled affair. Meantime, the power of king Hugo had become sufficiently confirmed, and he revenged himself on the pope's authority, who refused to help him at the right moment, by proceeding in a way so much the more independent of him. To investigate this affair, the council of Rheims assembled in 991.† Gerbert's friend Arnulph, archbishop of Orleans, was the soul of this remarkable assembly.

Several abbots here stood up for the principle, that the pope alone is the lawful judge of bishops, and as they cited in proof of this position passages from the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, the archbishop Arnulph hereupon took occasion to

* Non sumus nescii, jamdudum oportuisse nos expetere consulta Romanæ ecclesiæ, pro ruina atque occasu sacerdotalis ordinis; sed multitudine tyrannorum pressi, longitudine terrarum semoti, desideria nostra hactenus implere nequivimus. Vid. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 722.

† The transactions of this council were first published in full by Bongar, Frankfurt, 1600, reprinted in Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 109. To be sure, a suspicion might arise about the authenticity of these records (and this is the argument against them on which the papal party has always insisted) from the circumstance that this account proceeds from a man who was himself a party in the case, from *Gerbert*; and he says in his preface that he has not reported everything that was said in the council, word for word; while in his letter to the archbishop Wilderod, of Strassburg, to whom he sent this report (Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 166), he intimates that the representation was the product of his own art. It should be considered, however, that this refers rather to the style of the production than to the matter of the principles therein expressed; and Gerbert indeed intimates, that he had condensed a good deal which at the council had been more fully developed, and that he had softened in many cases the stern rigidity of the language. For he says. Earum (sententiarum) amplificationes, digressiones, et si qua ejus modi sunt, quodam studio refringam, ne odio quarundam personarum potissimumque Arnulphi proditoris moveri videar, quasi ex ejus legitima depositione Remense episcopium legitime sortitas videri appetam. After so frank a confession, his report on the whole is surely entitled to the greater confidence. It was in fact the spirit of Gerbert in his friends, which constituted the soul of this council; though we may believe the account given by Aimoin, that several or many were governed in their decisions by the authority of the king rather than by the influence of this spirit. See Aimoin, De gestis Francorum. L. V. c. 45.

stand forth as the advocate of ecclesiastical freedom. “*We stand up for this,*” said he, “that the church of Rome must ever be honoured on account of the memory of St. Peter, and we would in nowise place ourselves in opposition to the pope’s decrees. Yet she must be so honoured as not to injure the authority of the Nicene council,* which has ever been respected by this church of Rome; and so that, at the same time, the ecclesiastical laws drawn up at different periods and in different places, under the guidance of the same divine Spirit, shall continue to preserve an unquestionable validity. It cannot stand within the power of the pope to render null, by his silence or by new ordinances, all the existing laws of the church; for thus *all* laws would be superfluous, and everything would depend on the arbitrary will of an individual. If the bishop of Rome is a man who recommends himself by his knowledge and his manner of life, we need fear from him neither the one nor the other; but if the pope is estranged from the right by ignorance, fear, or worldly desires, or, as in these last times, fettered by the tyranny of another, we have so much the less reason to fear the silence or the new ordinances of the pope; for he who in any way stands in contradiction to the laws himself, cannot thereby effect anything against the laws.” He takes occasion from this to glance at the condition of the Romish church in these last times.† He holds up to scorn the monsters who, in the time of a John XII. and after him, ruled in Rome; and then remarks of such popes—“Is it a settled matter, then, that to such shameful brutes, utterly destitute of all knowledge of things human and divine, innumerable priests, distinguished throughout the world for their wisdom and for the purity of their lives, are to be subjected? For what,” says he, “do we hold him, who sits blazing with purple and gold on a lofty throne? If he wants love, and is only puffed up with knowledge, then is he Anti-Christ sitting in the temple of God: but if he is wanting in both alike, then is he in the temple of God like a statue—like an idol; and to seek a decision from such an one is like asking

* Probably in allusion to its sixth canon; see on this, in a former volume.

† *Lugenda Roma, quæ nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro sæculo famosas effudisti.*

counsel of a block of marble.* Much better were it to apply where men might hope to find the fullest understanding of the divine word: for example, to worthy bishops in Belgium and Germany,† than to the city where everything at present is venal, and where judgment is distributed according to the amount of the bribe.‡ With what face can one of the Roman clergy, among whom scarcely a man is to be found who has learned to read and write, venture to teach what he has not learnt himself? But supposing the Romish church still possessed of her primitive dignity, what more could have been done to show her respect? What more can be required, than that the causæ majores, the causes of the bishops, should first be reported at Rome? This has been done by the bishops and by the king. The bishop of Rome has been duly consulted respecting the deposition of Arnulph and the appointment of a worthy successor to the place which he vacates, but why he has not answered let those explain whom it concerns. Since, then, he to whom we have applied keeps silent, we must now endeavour to supply the wants of the people; and the bishops here convened from the adjacent provinces must depose Arnulph, if he deserves to be deposed, and, if a worthier man can be found, appoint that man his successor." The proposition of Arnulph triumphed, though from this we are not authorized to conclude that all the bishops of the council agreed from free and independent conviction in the principles here expressed. It may have been that many allowed themselves to be determined partly by the superior influence of a few liberal-minded men, and in part by the authority of the

* Ni mirum si caritate destituitur solaque scientia inflatur, Anti-christus est, in templo Dei sedens. Si autem nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere marmora consulere est.

† Certe in Belgica et Germania, quæ vicinæ nobis sunt, summos sacerdotes Dei in religione admodum præstantes inveniri in hoc sacro conventu testes quidam sunt.

‡ Ea urbs, quæ nunc emptoribus venalis exposita, ad nummorum quantitatem judicia trutinat. Even that adherent of the papacy, the abbot Abbo of Fleury, was compelled to find this true by experience. when under pope John XV. he visited Rome to get the privileges of his monastery confirmed anew. In the account of his Life in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. VI. P. I. f. 47, s 11*, it is said, "Turpis lucri cupidum atque in omnibus suis actibus venalem Johannem reperit, quem exsecratus perlustratis orationis gratia sanctorum locis ad sua rediit."

king, and these might easily be made to waver again.* The hitherto archbishop of Rheims was deposed, and Gerbert chosen to fill his place.†

Pope John declared the sentence of this council an illegal and arbitrary act. He persisted in maintaining the principle, that in the Romish church alone was to be found the lawful tribunal by which bishops could be judged. He pronounced, in the meanwhile, on all the bishops who had taken part in the proceedings of that council, the sentence of suspension from their episcopal functions, and sent Leo, an abbot, to France, to carry his decrees into execution, and to press the deposition of Gerbert and the restoration of Arnulph. But Gerbert contended strenuously for the principles which had been expressed at the council of Rheims; in his letters, he spoke in the freest manner against the pretensions of the pope, and he represented to the bishops how, by yielding ground under these circumstances, they would degrade their whole order and dignity, and entail the most dangerous consequences upon themselves and upon the church.‡ “The object aimed at,” said he, in allusion to the arrival of the pope’s legate, “is something greater than merely *my own person*. (He cited the proverb from Virgil: *Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*) It was an attack on the authority and the rights of the bishops, and of the king. If this matter were carried through, without the concurrence of the bishops, then their power and dignity would be annihilated, since the right would be taken away from them of deposing any bishop, however *guilty*; and no one should flatter himself that it did not concern him personally, for the question here did not relate to the indulgence of the judge, but to that which should

* Aimoin (Hist. Franc. l. V. c. 45) says, the archbishop Saguin, of Sens, resisted this proceeding from the first, and also boldly told the king the truth; yet this is at variance with the tone in which Gerbert writes to him, from which we can only infer a want of firmness and constancy in the bold stand he had taken on the part of this archbishop.

† It is worthy of remark, that in the confession of faith which Gerbert laid down before his ordination, he speaks only of a Catholic church, only of four general synods, but not of the Romish church; and that not a word occurs respecting the power conferred on the successors of St. Peter. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 726.

‡ See the epistola ad Constantinum Miciacensem abbatem. Harduin. l. c. f. 731.

once be actually established as a principle of law.”* To Saguin, archbishop of Sens, who was inclined to submit to the pope’s authority, he wrote:†—“Your sagacity should have enabled you to escape the sly plots of cunning men, and to follow the precept of our Lord, ‘If they say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or lo, he is there, go not after him.’ How say our opponents, that, in deposing Arnulph, we should have waited for the decision of the Roman bishop? Would they be able to show that the judgment of the Roman bishop is greater than the judgment of God? But the first Roman bishop, the first of the apostles, says: It is better to hearken unto God than unto men; and the apostle Paul declares—Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed. Because pope Marcellinus sprinkled incense to Jupiter,‡ must all bishops do the same? I say, and persist in it, that if the Roman bishop has committed a sin against his brother, and, having been often reminded of it, does not listen to the church, such a Roman bishop is, by the command of God, to be considered as a heathen and a publican; for the more exalted the station which one occupies, the deeper is his fall.” He then proceeds to attack the pope’s sentence, suspending him, and the others who had taken part in the pro-

* Nec sibi quisque blandiatur quolibet conquassato, se incolumi nec falso nomine sponsionis decipiatur, cum res et facta non ex indulgentia judicium, sed ex stabilitate pendeant causarum. † L. c.

† This story was probably taken from the forged records of the pretended synod held in a subterranean cavern, under the emperor Diocletian, near the Italian town Sinuessa. See Harduin. Concil. f. 217. These apocryphal records proceeded, on the one hand, from the same spirit which dictated the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, and on the other, connect themselves with some more ancient tradition. It was a report current even in the time of the Donatists, that the Roman bishop Marcellinus had consented to burn the sacred Scriptures, and to sprinkle incense to the gods, in the Diocletian persecution. See Augustin. contra literas Peliliani, l. II. s. 202. But Augustin asserts his innocence, De baptismo contra Pelilian. s. 27. Now, as such a tradition existed, it was determined to render it harmless to the papal authority, or rather to take advantage of it, by inventing the story, which is the substance of the transactions of that council, that the assembled bishops did not venture to judge the episcopum primæ sedis, who could not be judged by any other authority; but that the pope could only then be deposed, when he confessed himself his own crime, and pronounced his own sentence.—Thus, this story could now be used both by the opponents and by the advocates of papal absolutism.

ceedings at Rheims, from the sacerdotal functions: "If the pope," says he, "holds us unworthy of his fellowship, because none of us would agree with him in that which is contrary to the gospel, yet he cannot, for any such reason, separate us from our fellowship with Christ." He quotes here Rom. viii. 35. "And what more grievous separation can there be, than to keep away a believer from the body and blood of the Son of God, which is daily offered for our salvation? If he who deprives himself or another of his bodily life is a murderer, what name shall we apply to him, who deprives himself or another of the *eternal* life? We must give no occasion for our adversaries to make the priesthood, which is everywhere one and the same, as the Catholic church is one, so dependent on an individual, that if his judgment is perverted by money, by favour, by fear, or ignorance, no man can be a priest, but he who recommends himself to him by such virtues."* That which should pass as the common law of the Catholic church was the gospel, the writings of the apostles and prophets, the ecclesiastical laws given by the Spirit of God, and current in all Christendom, and the decrees of the apostolic see not *standing in contradiction with these*; for to the latter he attributed only a conditional validity. His letter to Wilderod, bishop of Strassburg, in which he exposed at length the illegality of the pope's proceedings, he concluded with the following complaint:†—"The whole French church is lying under the oppression of tyranny: yet the remedy is not sought among the French, but among these Romans. But thou, O Christ, art the only salvation of men. The church of Rome herself, which hitherto has been considered the mother of all the churches, must curse the good, bless the wicked, in that she abuses the power to bind and to loose, received from thee, notwithstanding that with thee it is not the sentence of the priest, but the conduct of the accused, that avails anything, and it stands in the power of no man to justify the godless, or to condemn the righteous!"

But this bold spirit was unable to present any effectual

* Non est danda occasio nostris æmulis, ut sacerdotium, quod ubique unum est, ita uni subijci videatur, ut eo pecunia, gratia, metu vel ignorantia corrupto, nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem sibi hæc virtutes commenderint.

† Mansi concil. T. XIX. f. 166.

check to the power of the papacy, already too deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and which was promoted by the influential monks, and by motives of temporal interest, whereby many bishops were determined. The terror of the papal excommunication had acquired already too much weight from public opinion for the voice of free-minded individuals, however supported by arguments, to avail anything against it. Besides this, Arnulph found personal sympathy; and Gerbert was accused of having acted from impure motives, and of having aimed from the beginning at obtaining possession of the archbishopric, and for this reason of having laboured to procure the fall of Arnulph.* Leo, the pope's legate, appeared in 995 before a council at Muson, where he made known the papal decision. Gerbert still remained true to his principles, and made a powerful defence, in which he expressed them. He said that all possible marks of respect had been shown to the apostolic chair. Eighteen months the pope's decision had been patiently waited for; but when no counsel was to be obtained from man, they had resorted themselves to the far

* Gerbert defends himself against this charge in a letter to the pope, ep. 38. in Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* T. II. f. 839. Non Arnulfi peccata prodidi, sed publice peccantem reliqui, non spe, ut mei æmuli dicunt, capessendi ejus honoris, testis est Deus et qui me noverunt, sed ne communicarem peccatis alienis. He affirms, in his speech in defence of himself before the council at Muson (*Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 735*), that the Archbishop Adalbero, who contrary to his own plans had ordained him a priest, intended on his death to make him his successor; but Arnulph had contrived to obtain the office by simony. In ejus decessu ad Dominum coram illustribus viris futurus ecclesiæ pastor designatus. Sed simoniaca hæresis Arnulfum prætulit. In evidence of the truth lying at the bottom of this testimony we have also what Gerbert says in a confidential letter (ep. 152. f. 824), in Du Chesne. Pater Adalbero me successorem sibi designaverat cum totius Cleri et omnium episcoporum ac quorundorum militum favore. It is, in itself considered, not improbable, that Adalbero would have been very glad to have the distinguished man who stood so near him for his successor; and the literary merits of Gerbert would recommend him above all others to those who were chiefly governed by the spiritual interest. But a man descended from so respectable a family, should he attain to one of the highest ecclesiastical stations in France, would naturally excite the jealousy of many against him; the knights, barons, and all those who were chiefly governed by secular considerations, would naturally prefer for their bishop a person of exalted rank like Arnulph, and hence it is easy to see how it was, that this party, which at first had favoured Arnulph, was also at a later period the more inclined to attach themselves to the papal interest.

higher word of the Son of God, and decided according to that. After the proceedings of the council had been brought to a close, Gerbert was invited by several bishops, in the name of the pope's legate, to cease performing the priestly functions until the meeting of a greater French ecclesiastical assembly to be held at Rheims. But he refused; and declared in presence of the legate himself, it stood not in the power of any bishop, any patriarch, any apostolic prelate, to exclude any believer whatsoever from the communion of the church, except after voluntary confession, or when convicted of a crime, or when he refused to make his appearance before a council. Nothing of all this was to be applied to him, and therefore he would not pronounce on himself the sentence of condemnation. At length he suffered himself to be persuaded by his friend, Ludolph, bishop of Triers, that he would, out of obedience, omit the celebration of mass until the next council at Rheims.* But Gerbert found himself in no condition to maintain his stand against the fanaticism and fury of the multitude excited by the influence of the papal legate. Knights and ecclesiastics not only avoided taking any part in the divine worship held under the direction of Gerbert, but even shunned all intercourse with him as an object of abhorrence.† Yielding therefore to the dictates of prudence, he withdrew for a while, to a secret place of refuge, determined, however, still to maintain the justice of his cause against this arbitrary exercise of papal power. "The churches," he wrote to Queen Adelaide of France, "which by the judgment of the bishops were committed to my guidance, shall not be otherwise abandoned by me than by the judgment of the bishops; nor against the judgment of the bishops, if no higher authority exists, shall they be forcibly retained."‡ He was for having the decision depend, therefore, upon a more numerous assembly of bishops. The contest between the party of Gerbert and that of the pope lasted until the time of this pope's successor, Gregory V. The latter threatened to put the whole French church under

* Ne occasionem scandali suis æmulis daret, quæ jussionibus domini apostolici resultare vellet, said the Archbishop of Triers.

† Memini meos conspirasse non solum milites, sed et clericos, ut nemo mecum comederet, nemo sacris interesset, in the letter to Queen Adelaide of France in Harduin. l. c. f. 734.

‡ L. c. f. 733.

the ban.* Hugo Capet's successor, king Robert, sought by yielding a little here to obtain the pope's recognition of the validity of his marriage with Bertha, notwithstanding the canonical objections.† This led on to new negotiations by the mediation of the venerated abbot, Abbo of Fleury, one of the representatives of the papal party. The latter conducted them in a personal interview with the pope, and the reconciliation was effected on terms satisfactory in all respects to the papal authority. At a second council, held at Rheims in 996, the decrees of the first were completely reversed, Gerbert was deposed, and Arnulph restored. So in this case also, the principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals triumphed, and everything that had been done in contradiction to them appeared as an act of arbitrary will. Gerbert himself must have been constrained at last to yield to the superior power of the papal system, for he was afterwards appointed, through the influence of his pupil, the emperor Otho III., to the archbishopric of Ravenna; and pope Gregory V. would beyond a doubt have refused to sanction this choice, and give him the pall,‡ if Gerbert had not in some way or other become reconciled with the papal see.

It is remarkable that in the year 999, Gerbert, the same man who had so strenuously contended against the papal power, was, by the influence of Otho III., chosen pope. He took the name pope Silvester II. As it is evident from what we have already remarked, that he must have given up those principles of ecclesiastical law which he at first maintained, so it was not necessary for him when pope to assume any new ground of action. But in his adjudging to Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims, all the rights and privileges connected with this dignity, and securing him against all detriment which might accrue to him on account of former offences, we perceive his design of uniting the justification of his own earlier line

* See the Life of the abbot Abbo of Fleury, s. 11, Acta sanct. O. B. of Mabillon. f. 47, Sæc. VI. P. I.

† As Gerbert says, in the letter to Queen Adelaide, cited above, Leo Romanus abbas, ut absolvatur Arnulfus obtinuit, ob confirmandum regis Roberti novum conjugium. Yet even by this means the king could not prevent the pope from commanding him afterwards, on pain of the ban, to separate from Bertha.

‡ See the documents on this point in Harduin, l. c. f. 740.

of conduct with the maintenance of the papal authority.* His reign, which lasted only till the year 1003, was too short to allow him any opportunity of exerting the influence which might have been expected from the character of his mind; yet with him probably originated the idea of a crusade to liberate the holy cities from the dominion of the Turks, an idea which found a benignant soil not till long afterwards.†

After the death of Otho III., the haughty Italian nobles were no longer kept in restraint by dread of the imperial power, and the same disturbances and disorders arose again which had sprung from like causes in the tenth century. The two contending parties of Toscana and of Tuscoli had the most corrupting influence on the Romish church. The counts of Tuscoli became continually more powerful, and with their power rose their pride. In the year 1033, they had the boldness to elevate to the papal dignity Theophylact, a boy twelve years old belonging to their own family. He called himself Benedict IX.‡ He gave himself up to every species

* Harduin. l. c. f. 760. Considered in this light, this letter, which could only have been written by a person in the position of Silvester, to whom the superscription attributes it, explains itself. It delicately hints, that though Arnulph had deserved to be deposed, yet his deposition was not formally valid, *quia Romano assensu caruit*. And so the plenary power of Peter is shown in this, that he could, notwithstanding his guilt, be again restored to that dignity as if nothing had been done. *Est enim Petro ea summa facultas, ad quam nulla mortalium æquiparari valeat felicitas. Nostra te ubique auctoritas muniat, etiamsi conscientie reatus occurrat.*

† The complaint of the desolated Jerusalem, or of the universal church, composed by him, if indeed that tract is genuine: *Enitere ergo miles Christi, esto signifer et compugnator et quod armis nequis, consilii et opum auxilio subveni.*

‡ Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, whose youth falls in a period when all this was still in lively remembrance (who was afterwards pope under the name of Victor III.), says, in the third book of his Dialogues, containing wonderful tales of his own times: "*Dum per aliquot annos nonnulli solo nomine pontificum cathedram obtinerent, Benedictus quidam nomine, non tamen opere, cujusdam Alberici consulis filius, magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus, non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia summum sibi sacerdotium vendicavit, cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre.*"—and he names among his acts rapinas, cædes aliaque nefanda. See Bibl. patr. Lugdunens. T. XVIII. f. 853. Another old contemporary, Glaberius Rudolph, monk of Cluny, says of him, near the close of his history of the times: "*Fuerat Romanæ sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum duodecim. Horrendum referre, turpitudine illius conversationis et vitæ.*"

of vicious excess; and of course this enthronement of mean profligacy on the chair of St. Peter had, by reason of the relation of the papacy at that time to the Western church, the most baleful influence on the condition of Christian life, especially in Italy. But at the very time when such corruption prevailed in this country, the counteracting influence of a Christian spirit which both required and promoted holiness of heart, was felt in the life and labours of the younger Nilus, a pious monk of Grecian descent, who first made his appearance among the Greeks of Calabria. Exhibiting in the midst of a corrupt generation the example of a life wholly consecrated to Christian love,* he had been the means of calling many to repentance, and had boldly rebuked transgression even in high places. The same spirit animated his disciple, the abbot Bartholomew of Crypta (Grotta) Ferrata. In a paroxysm of alarm from his troubled conscience, the young pope is said to have applied to this venerated monk, and asked him what he must do in order to make his peace with God. Bartholomew, as it is reported, frankly told him, that, stained with such crimes, he could no longer minister as a priest. No other course remained for him but to lay down his office, and spend a life devoted wholly to penitence in solitude. But Benedict, although touched perhaps for a moment by the voice of truth echoed from his own conscience, felt the rebuke only as a transient impression, which soon vanished away under the influence of his profligate family and chosen associates.† The unfavourable light, however, in which his public conduct was viewed, could be turned to more account by the party opposed to him. They succeeded,

* See below, the further development.

† In the Greek Life of Bartholomæus of Crypta Ferrata, which was published by the Jesuit Petrus Passinus in his *Thesaurus asceticus*, Paris, 1684, it is narrated (see p. 440), that Benedict was actually induced by these words to abdicate the papal dignity. But we assuredly cannot prefer this single, untrustworthy authority, where not even the *name* of the pope is mentioned, to the various and credible accounts of the manner in which Benedict resigned his station: nor can this single testimony from an obscure source, furnish sufficient grounds for the hypothesis of another earlier or later abdication of Benedict. At the same time, however, the story about the conversation between the pope and the monk may be true, and the biographer did but erroneously connect the pope's abdication, which was known to him, with the impression which that monk had made on the pope's mind.

A.D. 1044, in ejecting Benedict and making John, bishop of Sabina, pope, under the name of Sylvester III.* Benedict was enabled, it is true, by means of his powerful connections, to drive this rival from Rome, and compel him to return home to his bishopric; but, satisfied that he could not maintain his seat on the papal throne in spite of the abhorrence and detestation of mankind, and placing a higher value on the means of gratifying his pleasures than on any dignity of station,† he resolved to follow the traffic in benefices at that time so common in Italy, and, disposing of the papal office at a bargain, to retire with the avails to the quiet enjoyments of his castle. The bargain was made with John Gratian, an arch-priest belonging to the better class of the clergy, who perhaps flattered himself that he should be able to sanctify the wicked means by the good end he had in view, which was to put a stop to this scandalous state of things at Rome, and to use the papal power as a means of checking the progress of corruption in the church, that had been making such rapid strides under the influence of the bad example of a degenerate papacy. We see from the language addressed to him by a Peter Damiani—that earnest labourer for the restoration of ecclesiastical order—what hopes the party of the more seriously disposed clergy, the party which longed for a reformation of the church, believed they might repose in him.‡ Damiani expresses the

* *Non tam vacua manu*, says the abbot Desiderius; for that a sum of money proportionate to its value had to be paid for every spiritual office, was once, especially in these districts, a ruling principle.

† Desiderius says of him: *Quia durum est in corde veteri nova meditari, in eisdem pravis et perversis operibus, ut ante, perseverabat. Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitias suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret, tandem reperto consilio, qui voluptati deditus ut Epicurus magis quam pontifex vivere malebat, cuidam Joanni archi-presbytero, qui tunc in urbe religiosior cæteris clericis videbatur, non parva ab eo accepta pecunia, summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit.*

‡ Glaber Rudolph, who concluded his history of the times when Gregory had attained to the papal chair, and when all well-disposed persons were placing their hopes on him, ends his history with the following words: *Tunc vero (Benedictus) cum consensu totius Romani populi atque ex præcepto imperatoris ejectus est a sede et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus, cujus videlicet bona fama, quicquid prior fœdaverat, in melius reformavit.* Du Chesne, *Script. Hist. Franc.* T. IV. f. 58. Also another contemporary writer, the author of a short biography of Halinardus, archbishop of

hope that he would at last put a stop to crying abuses, to the practice of simony in appointments to benefices ; that he would provide for the better distribution of these benefices, and bring back the church to its former splendour.* But Benedict afterwards concluded not to give up the papal dignity, and so there were three popes at once. Henry III., the emperor elect, was called upon by the well-disposed of all parties, to put an end to this inextricable confusion. In the year 1046 he entered Italy at the head of an army, with the intention of being crowned emperor in Rome. Gregory VI., the purest of the three popes, and who considered himself the rightful one, conceiving that he had no cause for fear, came to meet the emperor at Piacenza.† Yet what he had to offer in justification of himself was not found satisfactory ; and all the three popes were deposed at a council held at Sutri.‡ Soon after this, another council was held in Rome, where a pope was chosen ; not, however, from the Roman clergy, for there no individual of their body was considered fit for the office ;

Lyons, designates John Gratian as the then acknowledged pope : “ *Johannes cognomento Gratianus tunc residebat in sede apostolica.*” And we see from what is there related, how much pains he took to induce a pious man, who was desired by the clergy and the community of Lyons as their archbishop, to accept that office. See the *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* in *D'Achery Spicileg. T. II. f. 392.*

* See his first letter to this pope, with which his collection of letters begins : *Lætentur cæli et exsultet terra et antiquum sui juris privilegium se recepisse sancta gratuletur ecclesia. Conteratur jam milleforme caput venenati serpentis, cesset commercium perversæ negotiationis, nullam jam monetam falsarius Simon in ecclesia fabricet.*

† According to the report of Desiderius, the emperor himself summoned Gregory, by bishops sent to him for that purpose, to a council to be held under his presidency, at which the affairs of the church, and particularly the matter of the three claimants to the title of pope, were to be discussed. *Joannem missis ad eum episcopis, ut de ecclesiasticis negotiis maximeque de Romana tunc ecclesia, quæ tres simul habere pontifices videbatur, ipso præside tractaretur, venire rogavit.*

‡ According to the Report of Desiderius, Gregory, feeling the weight of the arguments brought against him, voluntarily laid down his office, and sued for pardon. *Agnosens se non posse juste honorem tanti sacerdotii administrare, ex pontificali sella exiliens ac semet ipsum pontificalia indumenta exuens, postulata venia, summi sacerdotii dignitatem deposuit.* The contemporaneous writer of the *Life of archbishop Halinardus*, of Lyons, says of the emperor : *Fecit deponi Joannem, qui tum Cathedræ præsidebat et Benedictum atque Silvestrum, qui in concilio tunc habito examinata eorum culpa inventi sunt non solum simoniaci, sed etiam perversores ecclesiæ Christi.* *D'Achery, l. c. f. 393.*

but the choice fell on a German of more undoubted worth, Suigder, bishop of Bamberg, who called himself Clement II.

A new spirit of reform now began in the Roman church,* evoked by the boundless corruption† which had hitherto prevailed. The party who took an interest in this movement of reform was, for the most part, the same as had wished to make the church independent of the secular power, and cherished the idea of the papal theocracy. This party was profoundly impressed with a sense of the contrast between what the papacy and the church *then were*, and what the papacy *should be*, and the church, through the papacy, *should become*. They desired a reformation which, beginning at the head, should spread through all the members of the church. But as it was impossible in Italy, for the present, to stay the corrupting influence of the Italian secular parties on the papal elections, and on the church of Rome, except by the power of the emperor,‡ who, as all were forced to acknowledge, was animated by a sincere regard for the weal of the church, so it became necessary, for the present, to side with him, in order to secure the election of popes devoted to the reforming interest; for of course there were many in Italy and Rome, both ecclesiastics and laymen, who had found their account in the old disorders and abuses, and who, therefore, would have preferred that there should be no popes of that character. Thus, through the influence of the emperor, German bishops, not infected with the corruption of the Italian clergy, were raised to the apostolical chair. Poppo, bishop of Brixen, who by this influence had been created pope, under the name of Damasius II., having died a few weeks afterwards, the Roman clerus again sent delegates§ to the

* Desiderius says: quia in Romana ecclesia non erat tunc talis reperta persona, quæ digne posset ad tanti honorem sufficere sacerdotii.

† The bishop Bruno of Segni (Bruno Segniensis, or Astensis), a man belonging to the age of Hildebrand, says, in his Life of Leo IX., after describing the corruption of the church, which called forth this tendency to reform: "Talis erat ecclesia, tales erant episcopi et sacerdotes, tales et ipsi Romani pontifices, qui omnes alios illuminare debebant, omne sal erat infatuatum neque erat aliquid, in quo condiretur."

‡ Desiderius regards it as a work of God, brought about by the hands of the emperor: qualiter omnipotens Deus in faciem ecclesiæ sit dignatus respicere.

§ The contemporaneous writer of the Life of archbishop Halinard,

emperor, who met them in the diet at Worms, where he conferred the papal dignity on one of his kinsmen, Bruno, bishop of Toul, a man distinguished for his monkish austerities, his zealous devotion to the external and internal affairs of the church, and his activity in the discharge of such secular business as devolved on him, in his political capacity ; while, no doubt, he must have already acquired a good reputation among the Romans, by his practice of making a yearly pilgrimage to Rome.* With this pope, Leo IX., in the year 1049, begins a new epoch in the history of the papacy, in which the reforming interest already spoken of, and the effort to make the papacy and the church wholly independent of the secular power, were chiefly prominent. Neither Leo IX.†

says : Hoc namque a Romanis imperator data pecunia non parva exegerat, ut sine ejus permissu papa non eligeretur. l. c. f. 393.

* See his Life of Wibert, lib. II. cap. 1.

† Worthy of notice, as serving to characterize Leo, are several traits incidentally mentioned by Berengar of Tours, which, though some allowance should be made on account of the hostile feelings of the reporter, yet mark him as a man extremely dependent on the influence of those around him, one who could easily be led and deceived by others. The pope, who was so zealous for the strict moral discipline of the clergy, on coming to Vercelli, in the year 1050, took up his residence with the bishop of that city, who had seduced the betrothed wife of his uncle, a nobleman, and lived with her on terms of unlawful intercourse; and this nobleman could obtain no hearing for his complaints against the bishop, either from the council or from the pope. There was a division, at that time, among the adherents of the principles of reform, some going so far in their zeal against the heresy of simony, that, as none of the bishops who had obtained their places by simony, were, in their opinion, true bishops, they declared the ordinations also performed by them to be invalid. The other more prudent party held fast, even here, to the principle of the objective validity of the sacramental acts. Pope Leo was in the beginning inclined to the principles of the former party, at the head of which stood Cardinal Humbert, until it was represented to him, that if all such ordinations should be considered null, the churches in Rome would be left without priests, and no mass could be celebrated; see Peter Damiani liber gratissimus, or Opusc. VI. s. 35 (in which book he combats this view). But at Vercelli he was once more induced to consider these ordinations as null, and to ordain over again those who had been so ordained. It being again represented to him, that such a proceeding was at variance with the principle of the objective validity of the sacraments, he rose up in the council from his papal chair, and begged the assembled bishops to pray the Lord that he might be forgiven. But on his return to Rome, the influence of Humbert again prevailed, and he continued to reordain in the same manner. Berengar says, it was easy to see from this, quanta laboraret indigentia

nor his successors, down to the end of this period, were men of so much importance that a new epoch of ecclesiastical development could have been introduced by their sole agency. The personal character and talents of the popes are, in the present case, matters of small account. *They* were but the instruments of that system of reformation which had sprung up among a portion of the stricter clergy and monks in Rome, in opposition to the hitherto prevailing corruption, and as the necessary reaction of a more serious Christian spirit against the same. As the representative of this tendency to reform necessarily proceeding from the development of the church, we may consider Cardinal Peter Damiani, bishop of Ostia, a man distinguished for his earnest, though narrow and bigoted zeal for the restoration of the dignity of the priesthood, and of a stricter church discipline. But the man who, by the superiority of his intellect, and by the firmness and energy of his character, did most for the establishment and carrying out of this system, and who may be justly styled the soul of this new epoch of the papacy, was the monk *Hildebrand*. It was by his activity, down to the close of this period, that the way was prepared for a work, which, in the commencement of the following, he himself placed at the head of the papal government, carried to a full completion. On this individual we must from the present fix our eye, as the founder of a new period introduced by the historical development of the church.

Hildebrand received his first training in the monastic life under the direction of an uncle, who presided as abbot over a monastery in Rome. A mind of more than ordinary seriousness, such as we recognize in his case, could not be otherwise than disgusted at the corruption then prevailing in Rome, and roused to opposition against it. When Hildebrand observed the wide mischief which had sprung out of the confounding together of ecclesiastical and secular affairs, the idea would naturally be suggested to him of a necessary reforma-

pleni, quanta ageretur levitate, quam omni circumferretur vento doctrinæ. Vid. Berengar de cœna sacra, ed. Vischer, pag. 40. Nor does it exactly impress us with a favourable opinion of his inward worth, to be told that Leo, amid the severe labours and cares of his office, sought relaxation from a parrot, the present of some king, which had learned to repeat "Papa Leo," which was afterwards related as a marvel by those who honoured him as a saint. See Wibert, c. 2.

tion of the church; and when he saw two parties in contention, of which one fought for the interest of the secular power, the other for the interest of the papal Theocracy, he would be led of course, in tracing, as he did, the corruption of the church to the influence of a rude secular power subordinating everything to itself, to regard the interest of ecclesiastical reformation as identical with that of the church Theocracy. And it was indeed precisely on these views that all those persons in Rome were acting, who, like Damiani, were filled with pious zeal against the abomination in the sanctuary. Hildebrand would of course soon become connected with them by the tie of a common interest. His education in the monastic life, as well as the revulsion of his moral feelings against the corruptions around him, may possibly have nurtured within him a certain stoicism which repressed the gentler sentiments of human nature, and hence Christianity may not have so penetrated, softened, and ennobled his inward life and character, as it might otherwise have done. Hildebrand, while yet a youth, was a friend of Gregory VI.; for even the latter, as we have already remarked, was for undertaking and administering the papacy in accordance with the views of the stricter party, of which a Damiani was representative. Hildebrand might no doubt also, from *his own* ethical point of view, approve the principle followed by Gregory VI. in obtaining possession of the papal dignity—the principle that the end sanctifies the means. He remained faithful to that pope* even in his change of fortune, and accompanied him to

* Hence the passionate enemy of Hildebrand under Henry IV., Cardinal Benno, represents him in his fierce invective, which in other respects certainly is entitled to no credence, a disciple of Gregory VI. He also confirms the account of his residence in Germany, and of his return from that country to Rome in the suite of Leo IX. But the story that Hildebrand with his teacher was banished by the emperor from Germany, is doubtless to be attributed simply to the blind passion of Benno. He says of him; Hildebrandus Tenelicto monastino prædicto archipresbytero (that Joannes Gratianus) adhæsit —; he says of the emperor Henry III.: Sextum Gregorium cum Hildebrando discipulo suo in Teutonicas partes deportatione damnavit. It is characteristic of the man, that he complains of the injury done by the emperor by his too great clemency. Had he ordered Hildebrand to be confined for life, a Gregory VII. would never have been the author of so much mischief. *Nimia tamen pietate deceptus nec ecclesiæ Romanæ nec sibi nec generi humano prospiciens, novos idolatros nimis laxè habuit, quorum memoriam æterno carcere a contagione*

France, to which country he retired. That he still regarded him as being the lawful pope, after he had been deposed by the influence of an emperor, seems evident from his choosing to name himself after his friend, Gregory VII.* Next, he repaired to Germany,† and probably fell in with Leo at

hominum remove debuit. Vid. in Orthvini Gratii fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum, f. 42. We may perhaps compare with this judgment of Benno, another, pronounced from an entirely different point of view, that if Charles V. had but ordered the death of Luther at the diet of Worms, the whole mischief of the reformation would have been prevented.

* The German historian, Otto of Freisingen, to mark the Cato-like character of Gregory in his relation to Gregory VI., applies to him the passage in Lucan, "*Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*"

† Here a contradiction exists among the ancient accounts. According to the report of Otto of Freisingen, who wrote however a century later, Leo met with Hildebrand in the monastery of Cluny, received from him here the advice which he followed, and took him along with him to Rome. To the report of this later historian we ought doubtless to prefer the earlier reports, according to which Leo first met with the monk Hildebrand in Germany. Bruno, bishop of Segni, who had received many accounts from the mouth of his friend pope Gregory VII. himself states, in his *Life of Leo IX.*, that the latter had from the first accepted the papal dignity only under the condition that he should be voluntarily chosen by the clergy and community. Then he remarks, *Illis autem diebus erat ibi monachus quidam Romanus, Hildebrandus nomine, nobilis indolis adolescens, clari ingenii sanctæque religionis. Is erat autem illic tum discendi gratia* (he was seeking therefore more knowledge than could be acquired at that time in Italy, the seat of moral corruption and ignorance), *tum etiam, ut in aliquo religioso loco sub Benedicti regula militaret* (therefore not in a French monastery). This person attracted the notice of Leo, *cujus propositum, voluntatem et religionem mox ut cognovit, he requested him to go with him to Rome, but Hildebrand declined, as he said to him, Quia non secundum canonicam institutionem, sed per sæcularem et regiam potestatem Romanam ecclesiam arripere vadis.* The pope now submitted, as Bruno intimates, to be governed by the young man, who was still so superior to him in intellect and power. *Ille autem, ut erat natura simplex atque mitissimus, patienter ei satisfacit, reddita de omnibus sicut ille voluerat ratione.* According to the narrative of the canonical priest Paul Bernrieder of Regensburg, a contemporary, in his *Life of Gregory VII.* s. 11, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. O. B. Sæc. VI. P. II.*, or in the Bollandists, at the 25th of May of the VI. Tom.—Hildebrand betook himself first to a French monastery; he then visited the court of the emperor Henry III., whence he returned to Rome: and then went back again to Germany. Now it might be during his last residence in Germany that he fell in with Leo IX. Another contemporary, Wibert, who had been archdeacon of the bishop Bruno at Toul, in his *Life of Leo IX.* says nothing indeed

Worms itself. Hildebrand, who possessed that within him which enabled him to exercise an extraordinary power over the minds of others, seems thus to have soon acquired great influence over Leo, who was easily led by his advisers. He made him repent that he had been appointed pope by a layman—an emperor; and, to make some atonement for this false step, as well as to avoid establishing a precedent for the future, recommended that, throwing aside all pomp, he should travel to Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, and not consider himself as invested with the sacred office until he should have been there chosen pope in the customary form. Leo followed this advice; and perceiving the great benefit which might accrue to the church of Rome from having devoted to her interests a person possessed of the zeal and energy of the young Hildebrand, he took him along with him to Rome, where he consecrated him to the office of sub-deacon. Here the influence of Hildebrand continued to grow from day to day, and he was often employed also on important missions to foreign countries.

There were two things in particular, at which it appeared that the plan for a reformation and emancipation of the church must aim—the introduction of a stricter moral discipline among the clergy, by reviving the ancient laws concerning celibacy, and the abolition of simony in the disposing of the offices of the church, so as to cut off from the secular powers often abused influence, in the dispensation of benefices. In both respects, men might be contending simply for the restoration of that order which was required by the laws of the church, feeling themselves bound to put an end to existing irregularities. In respect to the last, the words of an unprejudiced and liberal-minded man of this age, Berengar of

of his connection with the monk Hildebrand; but he reports (l. II. c. 1, vid. Acta Sanctor. at the 19th April), that the bishop Bruno, when the choice fell on him, requested, in the first place, a delay of three days, to decide whether he would accept of the papal dignity; and, having spent these three days in fasting and prayer, finally declared that he was ready to accept of it under the condition, *si audiret totius cleri ac Romani populi communem esse sine dissidio consensum*. Here we may easily bring it in that Leo had, in the mean time, spoken with Hildebrand, who confirmed him in his resolution of accepting the papal dignity only on condition it could be done without infraction of the canonical form of the papal election.

Tours, may suffice to show what corruption had come upon the church from the arbitrary modes of disposing of church benefices, and how imperative was the call for a decided change in this particular, to prevent everything from going to ruin. His opponent, Lanfrick, having spoken of a *holy council* in these times, Berengar replied to him: "You must know yourself, that you speak falsely; for I know the bishops and abbots of our times, and am certain that you also must know them. I speak of a fact, which no man can deny, when I say that in these times no cities receive bishops by ecclesiastical appointment."* As to the other particular, the laws respecting the celibacy of ecclesiastics remained valid *in theory*, from times very remote, but they were nowhere observed; and there was a reluctance to apply the strict letter of the law in cases of this sort, lest the clergy should be brought into contempt with the laity, by the exposure of their immoralities.†

Meantime, it was impossible to prevent illicit connections among the clergy—and every marriage connection of an ecclesiastic was so regarded—from becoming known to the people, or to put a stop to the contempt and ridicule to which they exposed themselves, by their notoriously immoral lives.‡

* *Novi nostrorum temporum episcopos et abbates, quam nullæ urbes hoc tempore ecclesiastica institutione episcopos accipiant.* Berengar de sacra cœna, ed. Vischer. Berolin. 1834, pag. 63.

† Damiani says, in his *Opusculum* 17. De cœlibatu sacerdotum, which is addressed to pope Nicholas II. (T. III. opp. fol. 188): *Nostris temporibus genuina quodammodo Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudo servatur, ut de cæteris quidem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ studiis, prout dignum est, moneat, de clericorum vero libidine propter insultationem secularium dispensatorie contiscescat.*

‡ Damiani says to pope Nicholas II. in the place above cited, representing to him that it was absurd to fear the publication of that which was already publicly known: *Omni pudore postposito pestis hæc in tantam prorupit audaciam, ut per ora populi volitent loca scortantium, nomina concubinarum.* Ratherius says, that in no Christian land were the clergy so despised as in Italy, owing to their debauched and immoral lives. *Quærat aliquis, cur præ cæteris gentibus baptismo renatis contemptores canonicæ legis et vilipensores clericorum sint magis Italici.* And he attributes this wholly to the bad example which the clergy set by their own lives, for they were to be distinguished from the laity only by their tonsure, their dress, and the rites which, negligently enough, they performed in the churches. *Inde illi eos contemnunt et execrationi, ut dignum est, habent de contemptu canonum.* P. II. f. 354. D'Achery *Spicileg.* T. I.

No doubt, the best means for counteracting the corruption of morals among the clergy would have been, to yield to the want which could not be repressed, and provide a way for its being satisfied in conformity with law ; as, on the other hand, the imposed restraint of the unmarried life, unless where these laws were directly braved, only served to superinduce still more disastrous effects.* The former means were resorted to at that time by Cunibert, bishop of Turin. He gave all his clergy permission to marry,† without doubt, on the principle, that by so doing he should preserve his own see from the immorality which prevailed in other portions of the church, for he himself led a strictly unmarried life;‡ and Peter Damiani, the zealous advocate of the celibacy of the clergy, was forced to acknowledge, that the clergy of this church were markedly distinguished, by the purity of their lives and by their knowledge, from the clergy of other churches. In this case it would have been natural to inquire, how far the ordinances of this bishop had operated on the condition of his clergy ; but zealots like Damiani were too much blinded by their prejudices to see the truth on this subject. In fact, the idea of the necessary celibacy of priests was closely connected with the whole idea of the priesthood, the idea of a priestly caste, separated from the world, and destined to guide its social relations ; just as this notion of the priesthood stood closely connected with the whole churchly theocratic system. From this point of view, at which marriage in ecclesiastics appeared an illicit connection, the strict execution of the laws of celibacy appeared to be the only means of checking the progress of corruption among the clerical order ; but the popes favouring the system of reform, in their attempts to

* Ratherius says: *Quam perditā tonsuratorum universitas, si nemo in iis, qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenokoīta. Adulter enim nobis est, qui contra canones uxorius. Vid. Discordia inter ipsum et clericos. l. c. f. 363.*

† Vid. Damiani in the *Opusculum*, addressed to the same (18): *Permittis, ut ecclesiæ tuæ clerici, cujuscunque sit ordinis, velut jure matrimonii confœderentur uxoribus.*

‡ The opposite of that which was practised in other places. Vid. Damiani *Opusc.* 17. ad Nicol. II. c. 1. *Contra divina mandata personarum acceptores in minoribus quidem sacerdotibus luxuriæ inquinamenta persequimur, in episcopis autem, quod nimis absurdum est, per silentium tolerantium veneramur.*

enforce obedience to the law, met with the most determined resistance. Peter Damiani had to contend, not only with such as acted rather from the impulse of their inclinations than from settled principles, but also with such as attempted to justify their concubinage as a lawful thing, and who wished to obtain from some pope the abrogation of the laws of celibacy in a lawful way. They argued that St. Paul, in 1 Corinth. vii. 2, had made no exception whatsoever, and probably appealed to other similar passages also;* they cited the ancient canons of the council of Gangra, according to which, whoever refused to attend divine service performed by a married priest, should be excommunicated from the church,† and a canon drawn up by a synod at Tribur, whereby the marriage of priests was permitted,‡ which canon Damiani declared to be spurious. As whatever is said concerning the priesthood in the Old Testament was often applied to the Christian priesthood, so the defenders of priestly marriage adduced also, in defence of their principles, the fact, that in the Old Testament, priests were by no means bound to celibacy.§ Many of the clergy excused themselves, on the ground of their peculiar circumstances; they could not possibly dispense with domestic help.|| The enforcement of the laws of celibacy being opposed, then, to the interests and to the inclinations of so many, and the defenders of priestly marriage being in part conscious to themselves of having so much right on their side, it was natural that the papal legislation on this subject should not be able to push its way through, until after a long and difficult contest.¶ Pope Leo

* See I. V. ep. 13 to the chaplains of duke Godfrid, who defended the marriage of priests.

† Damiani resorted here to the arbitrary interpretation, that the reference is only to such as had lived in marriage before their entrance into the spiritual order.

‡ Opusc. 18. c. 3. T. 3. f. 200.

§ Si sacerdotes nubere peccatum esset, nequaquam hoc in lege veteri Dominus præcepisset. Opusc. 18. Diss. II. c. 2. f. 199. Damiani affirms, on the contrary, this was otherwise ordered under the Old Testament, because the priesthood was confined to a particular race, and therefore provision must be made for its continuance.

|| Opusc. 18, Diss. I. f. 195. Muliebris sedulitatis auxilio carere non possumus, quia rei familiaris inopiam sustinemus.

¶ Damiani, in his Opusculum ad Nicolaum II. calls the defenders of the law of celibacy a secta, cui ubique contradicitur; and he says, con-

IX. not only held synods for the reformation of the clergy in Rome, but his frequent journeys to France and Germany, and even to Hungary, by occasion of ecclesiastical and political affairs, where his mediation was solicited, gave him opportunity, at ecclesiastical assemblies which were held under his direction, to spread and to inculcate everywhere, in person, those laws against simony, and immoral excesses, as well as the illicit connections of the clergy, and also to carry them into execution on ecclesiastics found guilty. Many stories were circulated of remarkable judgments inflicted by the divine hand on such unworthy ecclesiastics, and which ought to serve as a warning for others.*

cerning the obligation of obedience to these papal ordinances, Aliud quidem quodeunque vestrae constitutionis imperium sub spe perficiendi fidenter indicimus. Hujus autem capituli nudam saltem promissionem tremulis prolatam labiis difficiliter extorquemus.

* The bishop Bruno of Segni, in his Life of Leo IX., among other statements received from the mouth of Gregory VII., cites the following: That while Leo was holding his synods of reform in France, where many bishops were accused of simony, one of these appeared particularly liable to suspicion, but still the evidence was not sufficient to convict him. The pope was therefore disposed to try him by the judgment of God, and imposed on him as the trial, that he should repeat the Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. But when he came to the name of the Holy Spirit, he began to stammer, his conscience not permitting him to utter these words: thus he betrayed his guilt. This example made such an impression, that many were constrained to confess themselves guilty. Vid. opp. Brunonis, ed. Marchesi Venet. 1651. T. II. f. 148. Peter Damiani relates the same thing in his Opusculum ad pap. Nicolaum II. XIX. de abdicatione episcopatus, c. 4, and he too reports it as having been received from the mouth of the then archdeacon Hildebrand; but according to his account this occurred at another time, and on a different occasion; namely, when pope Victor II. had sent the then subdeacon Hildebrand to France, and the latter removed from their stations six bishops, accused of various misdemeanors. Among these was also the one above-mentioned, of whom Damiani says: Ad Spiritum Sanctum vero cum venisset, mox lingua balbutiens tandem rigida remanebat; merito siquidem Spiritum Sanctum, dum emit, amisit, ut qui exclusus erat ab anima, procul esset etiam consequenter a lingua. As the account given by Damiani is drawn up more freshly according to the event, it may be considered the more credible account; Bruno perhaps, by a slip of memory, transferred the anecdote to Leo IX. With this story agrees also the testimony of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who moreover affirms, that he had often heard it repeated by Gregory himself. He quotes Hildebrand's language as follows: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cujus donum gratiae te comparasse audivimus, ut hujus rei nobis veritatem edisseras, adjuramus. Quod si amplius, ut coepisti,

But when the pope, on returning from his journeys in the year 1052, assembled a council at Mantua, with a view to exercise there his highest spiritual jurisdiction for the maintenance of those laws, a fierce uproar was excited against him by those bishops who had reason to dread his severity, and whose cause was blended with the interests of powerful families,* so that he was under the necessity of dissolving the assembly. Yet this was but a momentary effervescence of passion, having no connection whatever with fixed principles; for on the very next day the guilty bishops begged him for absolution, which he bestowed on them.

This pope, who was so very zealous against the abuses which had crept into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in these last times, himself however set an example of violating the laws of the church, when, in the year 1053, he in person led an army against the neighbouring Normans,† who had laid waste the territories of the church. Though his sympathy in the fate of so many who had cruelly suffered, might serve as some excuse for him, yet by the men of the more strict and serious party, who were earnest for the restoration of church discipline, it was disapproved and regretted

negare tentaveris, Spiritum Sanctum, donec quæ vera sunt, confitearis, nominare non valeas. Dialog. l. III. Bibl. patr. Lugdunens. T. XVIII. f. 856. It seems very much like Hildebrand, the favourer of the judgment of God, that he should impose on the bishop such trial of his innocence. If we connect with this the look and the words of so uncommon a man as Hildebrand, accustomed to exercise so great a power over the minds of others, it will be still more easy to conceive how his suggestion may have made such an impression on the mind of the bishop. And here we are presented with a not unimportant trait in the character of Hildebrand. Many others are also to be found among the anecdotes of Damiani and of Desiderius, from which we see that Hildebrand took special delight in the marvellous. This was in perfect consistency with his Old Testament theocratical principle.

* Wibert. in his Life of Leo, says (s. 21): *Familix eorum faultrices scelexum subitaneum contra domini apostolici familiam moverunt tumultum.*

† Already, when deacon to bishop Hermann of Toul, he had undertaken to lead the troops, which his bishop was compelled to send as a contribution to the Heerbann of the emperor Conrad—in noticing which, to be sure, his biographer adds, *salvo tamen per omnia proprii gradus sacramento*, which means, doubtless, that he ordered the whole arrangement of his troops.—Wibert boasts of his skill in such matters, but did not himself fight with them; see the life above cited, l. I. c. 2. s. 12.

that the head of the church should fight with the secular sword.* Cardinal Damiani remained firm in maintaining that the priest ought in no case to contend with the sword, not even in defence of the faith, much less in defence of the goods and rights of the church; for it behoved the priest to make the life no less than the doctrines of Christ his own rule of living, and accordingly he should follow the example of Christ in subduing the wrath of the world only by the might of an invincible patience. He reckoned it as belonging to the principle which required the secular and the spiritual power to be kept distinctly apart, that the priest must contend only with the sword of the Spirit, only with the Word of God. If king Uzziah was covered with leprosy because he arrogated to himself a priestly function, what punishment does not a priest deserve, who grasps—what certainly belongs only to the laity—the weapons of war? In setting forth this doctrine, he put it as an objection, that Leo IX., though a holy man, often busied himself with the affairs of war; to which he answers, that the good and the bad must not be judged by any standard of human merit, in which we find both, but by the quality of the things themselves. Peter did not arrive at the apostolic primacy by his denial.† Did Gregory the Great, who had so much to suffer from the Longobards, either act thus, or teach that it was proper to act thus?‡ The unfortunate issue of the war, when the pope was conquered and taken captive, appeared to many in the light of a divine judgment.§ And even in the Christian consciousness of many a layman, the disadvantageous impression which this expedition of his had made, seems to have raised objections against paying him the honours of a saint, at whose tomb

* Bruno, bishop of Segni, says, in relating this, fol. 147; *Zelum quidem Dei habens, sed non fortasse secundum scientiam, utinam non ipse per se illuc ivisset; sed solummodo illuc exercitum pro justitia defendenda misisset.*

† Dico quod sentio, quod quoniam nec Petrus ob hoc apostolicum obtinet principatum, quia negavit, nec David idcirco prophetiæ meretur oraculum, quia torum alieni viri invasit, cum mala vel bona non pro meritis considerentur habentium. Sed ex propriis debeant qualitatibus judicari.

‡ Damiani, l. IV. ep. 9.

§ Hermann Contract. at the year 1053: *Occulto Dei judicio, sive quia tantum sacerdotum spiritualia potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat sive quod nefarios homines secum ducebat.*

miraculous cures could be wrought.* On the other hand, however, the story got abroad, that in a vision of the night the slain in that battle had presented themselves to Leo as martyrs, and that miracles would be performed at their graves.† This report was eagerly seized upon to guard and protect the sanctity of Leo against a step which threatened to be injurious to his memory. To secure him this reverential respect would be an object of so much the greater importance to the advocates of the theocratical system of reform, because he was the first in the line of the popes who laboured to carry these principles into full effect; and men related, that shortly before his death, in the year 1054, he spoke words of exhortation and rebuke against simony and the concubinage or unchastity of the clergy.

Hildebrand, who under Leo IX. became a subdeacon of the Roman church, had meantime been continually rising to still greater influence. He was the head and the soul of the stricter party. It was he by whose craft and sagacity the new choice of a pope was determined. Among the Roman clergy he could find no one who seemed to him calculated to prosecute with vigour the already begun work of reformation in the church. On the other hand, he had reason to hope that Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstadt, at that time the most eminent and the most wealthy prelate of Germany, the most influential counsellor of the emperor, who had been hitherto the most zealous promoter of the imperial interests, would prove as pope a no less zealous champion of the papal interests.‡ He got himself appointed plenipotentiary of the Roman clerus, and of the Roman community, for the purpose of effecting in the name of both the choice of a pope. In this character he proceeded to the court of the emperor, where he accomplished his object, and this bishop became pope (Victor II.). Upon his death, in the year 1057, Hildebrand,

* Bruno of Segni relates, that when, after Leo's death, it was reported that persons possessed of evil spirits were healed at his tomb, a certain woman exclaimed, Pope Leo, who caused so many men to shed their blood, drive out evil spirits! When Leo can expel evil spirits, then I shall be a queen, and all those whom he killed by his impiety will be restored to life again.

† See the two Lives above cited.

‡ See the *Chronicon Casinense*, l. II. c. 89. in *Muratorii script. rer. Italicar.* T. IV. f. 403.

then absent, was already proposed as a candidate for the papal dignity. Others demanded that the papal election should be deferred until his return;* but it turned out that a man devoted to the interests of Hildebrand's party, Frederic, abbot of Monte Cassino, was chosen to the office, Stephen IX. When the latter, in 1058, sent the subdeacon Hildebrand to Germany on certain public business at the court of the widowed empress Agnes, the Romans were obliged, on penalty of the ban, to bind themselves by oath, that if he should die during Hildebrand's absence, the papal election should be deferred till his return.† The death of Stephen actually occurred during Hildebrand's absence; and the party to whose inclinations and interests the reforming tendency was opposed, hastened to forestall the influence of Hildebrand, and to set up by force a pope according to their own mind. It came about, perhaps by a craftily concerted plan, that they made choice of a man who had at least some pretensions in his favour, since he did not belong to the class of ecclesiastics notorious for their bad morals, while at the same time he was so ignorant and spiritually incompetent, that they might hope to be able to make use of him as their tool.‡ This was John, bishop of Veletri. It is true, the party of cardinal Damiani protested against the proceeding, but they could effect nothing against superior force. They were obliged to seek safety in concealment,§ and a cardinal priest, of whom Damiani says that he could not even fluently read,|| consecrated him pope. He named himself Benedict X. Hildebrand, on his return to Rome, however, soon obtained the upper-hand by his superior energy, and a man devoted to his own principles, bishop Gerhard of Florence, was, with the concurrence of the imperial

* L. c. c. 97.

† L. c. c. 100.

‡ Benedict excused himself on the ground that he was forced to accept the papal dignity, and his opponent Damiani does not venture to assert the contrary, but writes to Henry, archbishop of Ravenna (l. III. ep. 4.): *Ita est homo stolidus, deses ac nullius ingenii, ut credi possit nescisse, per se talia machinari*, and he says he was ready to acknowledge him as pope, *si unum non dicam psalmi, sed vel homilie quidem versiculum plene mihi valeat exponere*.

§ *Nobis episcopis per diversa latibula fugientibus*, says Damiani in the letter above cited.

|| *Presbyter Ostiensis, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere*.

court, consecrated pope Nicholas II.* He pronounced the ban upon his opponent; but Benedict soon submitted, and received absolution. To prevent for the future disputes and disturbances, similar to those which had arisen after the death of the last pope, Nicholas, at the Lateran council in 1059, enacted a special law on the subject of papal elections, by which it was provided that the pope should be chosen by the cardinal † bishops and priests, with the concurrence of the rest of the Roman clergy and of the Roman people, and with a certain participation of the emperor, ‡ and that none other

* Of his personal qualities, Berengar gives an unfavourable account: "De ejus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere." *De cœna sacra*, p. 71.

† From the eleventh century, it had gradually become customary to confer the title "cardinal" on the Romish church in particular. The epithet *Cardinalis præcipuus* was at first applied to all the churches, in which sense it frequently occurs in the letters of Gregory the Great. *Cardinalis sacerdos*, the title of a bishop; *cardinales presbyteri*, *diaconi*, were names given to those who held an office in the church, not provisionally, but as a fixed appointment. Hence *incardinare*, *cardinare*, to denote the bestowment of such an appointment. In the tenth century, the canonicals of the cathedral churches, in contradistinction from the clergy of the parochial churches, were denominated *cardinales*. Vid. *Ratherii Itinerarium D'Achery Spicileg. T. I. f. 381*. In this eleventh century, however, the name was conferred on the seven *episcopos collaterales* of the pope, who belonged to his more immediate diocese, and on the priests and deacons of the Romish clergy—*cardinales episcopi*, *presbyteri*, *diaconi*; and now another meaning was introduced into the title; it was referred to the Romish church as the *cardo totius ecclesiæ*, as Leo IX. gives it in his letter to Michael Cellularius, patriarch of Constantinople. The *cardo immobilis* in the *ecclesia Petri*, unde *clerici ejus cardinales dicuntur*, *cardini utique illi*, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adhærentes. *Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 944*. This interpretation of the term must have become widely spread at a later period: for the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres assumes it as a settled point. He thus explains the term *καρδοναλίσις*: *στροφίγξιν ὁ ἑλλήν ἐποι, ὡς θύρας, οὖσιν τοῦ πάπα κατὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ μίμησιν*. *Hist. l. V. c. 8. ed. Bekker*, p. 360. From a comparison which Berengar employs, it may be gathered that the cardinals were regarded as standing in the place of the popes, as their representatives: *Si dicat quis, magno dedecore apostolicum officium in cardinali suo*, etc. Vid. *Berengar. De sacra cœna*, ed. Vischer, p. 273.

‡ The editions of these enactments vary from one another, especially in reference to the share which was in this case conceded to the emperor. Compare on the subject of these variations, *Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte. Bd. II. Iste Abtheilung, S. 187*, and *Pertz Italienische Reise, or Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde. Bd. V. S. 83*.

than a person so chosen should be considered pope. Thus was laid the foundation of the college of cardinals.

Under this pope, the party of Hildebrand and Damiani laboured still more strenuously for the reformation of the clergy, the suppression of simony and of unchastity among ecclesiastics. The defenders of simony, as well as of the married life of ecclesiastics, were represented in direct terms as heretics. At the Lateran council already mentioned, of 1059, the pope forbade, on penalty of excommunication, all ecclesiastics who lived in wedlock to celebrate mass, or hold divine worship. They were to receive no portion of the church revenues.* The laity were called upon not to be present at any act of worship performed by such ecclesiastics.† This was a well-contrived means for enforcing obedience on such of the clergy as were not disposed to comply with the papal ordinances, by immediately addressing their interests, and their fear of the indignation and abhorrence of the people, who would refuse to have fellowship with such men. Thus the cause of the papacy was made the cause of the people; the popes entered into a league with the people against the higher orders, to which the more eminent ecclesiastics belonged, and which in various ways were identified with them in interests. Thus it happened, that from the bosom of the lower clergy and of the monks, came forth men of more serious aims and purposes, who, disgusted with the depravation of morals among the clergy, and the traffic carried on with spiritual things, attached themselves to the papal interest as noisy zealots for the reformation of the church. These might easily form a popular party, which would be used at Rome as an instrument against the corrupt and haughty ecclesiastics to force them into obedience to the popes. But it was a dangerous means here resorted to by the popes; for they

* The ordinance of this council: *Quicumque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum papæ Leonis de castitate clericorum concubinam palam duxerit vel ductam non reliquerit, ut missam non cantet, neque evangelium, vel epistolam ac missam legat, neque in presbyterio ad divina officia cum iis, qui præfatæ constitutioni obedientes fuerint, maneat, neque partem ab ecclesia suscipiat.*

† Peter Damiani says, *Opusc. 18. Diss. II. c. 2.*: *Nos plane quilibet nimirum apostolicæ sedis æditui hoc per omnes publice concionamur ecclesias, ut nemo missas a presbytero, non evangelium a diacono, non denique epistolam a subdiacono prorsus audiat, quos misceri feminis non ignorat.*

called forth with the intention of using for their own ends a popular movement, which might easily take also another direction; they gave the impulse to a force which it was not always in their power to guide, and which, when once aroused, might some time or other become dangerous to the interests of the dominant church itself. Easily might a separatism,* directed in the first place against a corrupt clergy, and the offices of public worship administered by them, become a hostile opposition to a corrupt church generally, and its entire authority, and furnish a foot-hold for many heretical tendencies, as the case really turned out from the eleventh century onwards; and even at the present time many stood forth, who maintained that the universal prevalence of simony in the church had destroyed all genuine priesthood—a position from which the inference might readily be drawn, that the sacramental acts could no longer be performed even in the dominant church after a valid manner.†

The most violent commotions arose in the important church of Milan, distinguished by the memory of an Ambrose, which, mindful of its ancient dignity, asserted a sort of independence, and was by no means inclined to submit to the new papal monarchy. Here the practice of simony had reached such an extreme that for every spiritual office a sum was paid proportionate to its value, the bishop Guido himself having

* A spirit of this sort manifested itself at Florence, where violent contests arose between the higher clergy on the one side and a portion of the monks and laity on the other, which Peter Damiani was sent to appease. The monks and their adherents affirmed that the unworthy clergy could perform no true and real sacramental act "*per hujusmodi temporis sacerdotes nullam in sacramentis posse fieri veritatem.*" Thus, as Damiani relates, thousands of men in Florence had died without communion, because they would not receive it from the hands of these ecclesiastics. Many churches were looked upon by them as utterly polluted; they despised all ecclesiastics and monks who did not belong to their party, *vident monachum incedentem, aspice, inquit, unum scapulare, presbyterum vel episcopum abire prospiciunt, barbirasos se videre fatentur.* We might in fact infer from Damiani's language, that they did not even spare the pope himself. *Non est, inquit, papa, non rex, non archiepiscopus neque sacerdos. Vid. Damiani opusc. 30. c. 3.*

† Bishop Bruno of Segni says, in his Life of Leo, after having spoken of the simony which universally prevailed till the time of pope Leo IX., "*unde etiam usque hodie inveniuntur quidam, qui ab illo jam tempore sacerdotium in ecclesia defecisse contendunt.*"

arrived at his office in this way ; and hence too by this traffic in benefices many unworthy men of altogether worldly lives, had made their way to important stations in the church.* There came to Milan a young clergyman by the name of Ariald, born in the village of Euzago, between Como and Milan,† who from his childhood following the bent given him by a religious education, had led a pious and strictly moral life. He felt impelled to present himself before the people—a people who followed the example of their corrupt clergy, and by a clergy as ignorant as they were immoral had never been made to understand the Christian vocation and its duties—as a preacher of repentance. He felt impelled to attack rudely the corruption of a clergy who set so bad an example to the people.‡ He at first preached in his own country village against the worldly life and vices of the clergy. These, however, replied to him, that as they were ignorant

* In the life of Ariald, written by his scholar Andrew, the condition of the Milanese clergy is thus described: *Alii cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, alii vero tabernarii, alii usurarii existebant, cuncti fere cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam.* Vid. cap. 1. in the *Actis Sanctor.* at the 27th of June, f. 282. In another Life of Ariald, also composed by a contemporary and eye witness, Landulph de St. Paulo, which Puricelli has published along with several other records relating to this epoch in the history of the Milanese church (Milan, 1657), the following is said (c. 2.), *Istis temporibus inter clericos tanta erat dissolutio, ut alii uxores, alii meretrices publice tenerent, alii venationibus, alii aucupio vacabant, partim fenerabantur in publico, partim in vicis tabernas exercebant cunctaque ecclesiastica beneficia more pecudum vendebant.* And as this is said of the then condition of the clergy generally, it is added with regard to Milan in particular, *quanto urbs ipsa populosior est, tanto iniquitas copiosior erat.* And even the Milanese historian Arnulph, interested as he was in favour of the Ambrosian Clerus and against Ariald and the Hildebrand party, still cannot wholly deny the guilt of the Milanese clergy. He says (l. III. c. 12. in *Muratori Script. Hist. Ital. T. IV. f. 29.*): *ut caveatur mendacium, non ex toto fuerunt omnes ab objectis immunes.*

† The aristocratic spirit of those who estimated the clergy by their ancestry is shown in a passage of Arnulph, l. III. c. 8: *modicæ auctoritatis, humiliter utpote natus.*

‡ We have, to be sure, no wholly impartial account of these events ; on the one hand, the partizan accounts of the life of Ariald, written in a rhetorical style of eulogy (which applies however still more to Andrew's than to Landulph's) and of Erlembald, which was first published by Puricelli at Milan, 1657 ; on the other hand, the narrative of Arnulph, written in the interest of the opposite party. A comparison of the two representations teaches us that neither is free from all partiality.

people, he could soon finish the business with them. If he was sure of his cause he had better attack the clergy in Milan; there he would find men who were learned enough to answer him.* During the reign of pope Stephen II., in the year 1056, Ariald first made his appearance in Milan, and was able to prosecute his labours for ten years. He first applied to the clergy; and being repelled by them with contempt, he turned to the laity.† Christ, said he, has left behind him two lights, the *word* of God and the *life of its teachers*. One of these lights he gave to the clergy, who were to possess the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures; but to the unlearned he appointed the life of their teachers to be a doctrine. Yet through the power of Satan and of sin, and by the negligence of the clergy, it had come to pass that the laity had lost their light. The clergy were lacking in the knowledge of the divine word, and to the laity the life of the clergy no longer shined. And to deceive the more effectually, Satan had suffered those whom he had robbed of holiness to retain the outward show of it. This he said with sorrow, not to insult them, but for the purpose of warning them and others. Christ says, Whosoever would be my disciple, let him follow me; but the life of the clergy at the present time was directly the opposite to the life of Christ. He then contrasted the example of humility which Christ had given with the worldly pride of the clergy, with their luxurious palaces; his poverty, with their eagerness to amass riches; his purity, with their illicit connections. How could *they*, then, be imitators of Christ! Such ecclesiastics were to be regarded rather as enemies than as disciples of Christ. He called upon them to repent; he had come, he said, to bring them to this or to die.‡ We see called forth here, by the antagonism to the secular spirit of the church, the idea of the clergy as appointed to follow Christ in poverty, purity, and humility, which idea, in the next succeeding centuries, came forth, under various appear-

* See the Life of Landulph de St. Paulo, published by Puricelli, c. 3. Nobis hæc ideo loqueris, quia, ineruditos nos esse cognoscis, sed urbanis hæc prædica, qui tibi suis scientiis respondere poterunt.

† The words attributed by his biographer to Ariald, in his address to the people, allude to this (c. 1. s. 11): Conatus sum reos reducere ad suam lucem, sed nequivi.

‡ See his Life of Landulph, l. c. c. 6.

ances, in opposition to the prevailing corruption; sometimes siding with the papacy, sometimes attacking it, as well as the whole church fabric erected thereupon. Ariald's discourses met with a favourable reception from the multitude. Those who were susceptible to religious impressions gladly heard him, because so earnest a piety, which insisted on the imitation of Christ in the affections of the heart, had not been witnessed for a long time in this city, and such as were conscious of a deeper religious need, would hence feel themselves the more strongly attracted by his fervent zeal. Novelty enticed the many who are ever eager after some new thing,* and the populace willingly listened to reproofs and censures administered against the higher class of citizens. Thus the clergy, who, in spite of their personal worthlessness, had, by virtue of the reverence felt for the dignity of the priestly office, been hitherto the objects of general respect, became gradually objects of detestation and abhorrence.† In addition to this, by the preaching of Ariald, the deacon Landulph, a young man of high birth, belonging to the family of De Cotta, one of the most distinguished in Milan and—an important consideration in that city—a member of its own clerus, was won over to the spirit of reform, and converted into a zealous champion for the cause.‡ Landulph spoke with still greater vehemence than Ariald; and he was better fitted to act the part of a demagogue. He is said to have been a powerful popular speaker. Before this change he was a great favourite with the people, as a preacher,§ and perhaps even before Ariald's appearance in Milan, he had been inclined to some such views of reform. Various means were now employed to operate upon the people. They were called together to hear the new sermons by cards of

* Landulph says, in the account of his life, c. 6: *Nunciantur novæ prædicationes, ad quas populus semper novorum avidus cumulatur.*

† In verbis ejus plebs fere universa sic est accensa, ut quos eatenus venerata erat ut Christi ministros, damnans proclamaret Dei hostes animarumque deceptores.

‡ Arnulph, the violent enemy of this party, seems indeed to intimate, that he was a layman, and finds something irregular in his putting on the preacher when a layman, and setting himself up as a censor of the clergy. But even Landulph designates him as a Levite, a deacon. It is characteristic of Arnulph to say of the man who required of the clergy a strictly unmarried life: *Hic quum nullis esset ecclesiasticis gradibus alteratus. grave jugum sacratorum imponebat cervicibus, quum Christi jugum suave et ejus leve sit onus.* l. III. c. 8. § See Landulph de St. Paulo, c. 3.

invitation scattered through the city, and by the ringing of little bells.* Next appeared a man out of the very midst of the laity, who took hold of this movement of reform with great zeal. Nazarius, a man connected with the mint, the pious head of a family, who had hitherto been accustomed, even in the corrupt clergy, to honour their calling, listened with enthusiasm to men who were seeking to bring back the clergy to a life corresponding to their exalted station. He was ready to devote himself, with his family and his entire substance, to the service of a cause which appeared to him so holy.†

Ariald and Landulph exhorted the people to shun all intercourse with the clergy who would not come off from the heresy of the Nicolaitans,‡ and of simony; and to refuse from the hands of such the administration of the sacraments. They declared that, by consenting to receive the sacraments from the unworthy hands of these heretical ecclesiastics, men only became partakers of their condemnation, but could experience no saving benefit from the sacred rites themselves. In exhorting the people not to be present at the administration of holy rites by such unworthy ecclesiastics, they in truth did but follow the principles publicly expressed by the pope; but it might easily happen that, hurried on by a fiery zeal, they might venture to use expressions which were at variance with the doctrine of the church, concerning the objective validity of the sacraments.§ Still less could the people understand those nice distinctions in the theory of the sacraments; it was

* Landulph, c. 6: *Per urbem mittuntur chartulæ, tinnunt tintinnabula, nunciantur novæ prædicationes.*

† In the above cited *Life of Andreas*, c. 2, the following language is put into the mouth of Nazarius, to show the contrast between that which the clergy actually were, and what they were designed to be: "*Quis tam insipiens est, qui non lucide perpendere possit, quod eorum vita esse altius debet a mea dissimilis? Quos ego in domum meam ad benedicendam voco, juxta meum posse reficio et post hæc manus deosculans munus meum offero, et a quibus mysteria, pro quibus æternam vitam expecto, omnia suscipio. Sed, ut omnes inspicimus, non solum non mundior, verum etiam sordidior perspicue cernitur.*"

‡ The marriage of ecclesiastics being placed without hesitation in the same category with whoredom, to its defenders was applied the heretical name Nicolaitans.

§ If we might place any reliance on the report of the hostile Arnulph (l. c. l. III. c. 9), Landulph had made use of such expressions against the unworthy clergy: *eorum sacrificia idem est ac si canina sint stercore, eorumque basilicæ jumentorum præsepia.*

impossible for them to receive it any otherwise than that the ceremonies performed by these unworthy priests were not to be regarded as sacraments at all. But when now the followers of this party asked, What, then, are we to do without sacraments and priests? Ariald answered them: they had nothing to do but their own duty,—to go out from the midst of the unclean, and trust in God, who would not forsake them. He who had bestowed on them the greater blessing, given himself for their salvation, *he* would not deny them the lesser, faithful shepherds. They might, therefore, confidently withdraw themselves from all fellowship with the heretics; and so, praying in perfect faith for good and faithful shepherds, they would assuredly obtain such.* Soon the clergy were forced by the people either to separate from their concubines, or to withdraw from the altar.† Ariald was ready to stake his all upon the cause of working out a reformation of the clergy, according to his own views. He had so wrought upon the conscience of one clergyman, who had acquired his office by simony, that he repented of it, and was desirous of making restitution; but to lose the money which he had disbursed, and could not recover, was not to be thought of by one in his circumstances. Ariald made up the sum for him, when he resigned his office, and the place was filled again in the canonical manner.‡ Under his direction was formed a society of clergymen and laymen, who lived together in the form of a canonical community.

The whole population of Milan was separated into two hotly contending parties. This controversy divided families; it was the one object which commanded universal participation.§ The popular party, devoted to Ariald and Landulph, was nicknamed *Pataria*, which in the dialect of Milan signified a popular faction; || and as a heretical tendency might easily grow out of, or attach itself to, this spirit of separatism

* See Life of Ariald by Andreas, c. 3.

† Andreas, in his Life of Ariald, c. 2, says on this point, *Stupra clericorum nefanda sic ab eodem populo intra aliquanta tempora sunt persecuta et deleta, ut nullus existeret. quin aut cogereetur tantum nefas dimittere vel ad altare non accedere*, and the same is remarked by Landulph of St. Paulo.

‡ See Ariald's Life, c. 15.

§ In the Life of Ariald by Andreas, c. 3: *In his diebus si per illam urbem incederes, præter hujus rei contentionem undique vix aliquid audires.*

|| Arnulph. l. III. c. 11: *Hos tales cætera vulgaritas ironice patarinos appellat.*

so zealously opposed to the corruption of the clergy, it came about that, in the following centuries, the name Patarenes was applied in Italy as a general appellation to denote sects contending against the dominant church and clergy—sects which, for the most part, met with great favour from the people. But it was not strange, that the fanatical zeal of the people being once aroused, violent outbreaks should ensue, and that many impure motives should mix in with the rest.*

In the meantime, both parties lodged complaints against each other with pope Nicholas II., and the latter sent the cardinal Peter Damiani, and the archbishop Anselm of Lucca,† to Milan, for the purpose of investigating the affair; ‡ the former of whom convoked a synod there for this object. But when he here asserted the authority of a papal legate, claiming in this character the presidency in the synod, and placing the associates of his mission, archbishop Anselm and archbishop Guido of Milan, the one on his right hand and the other on his left, the pride of the Milanese nobility of the spiritual and secular orders was greatly offended. This proceeding appeared to them derogatory to the ancient dignity of the independent Ambrosian church.§ The excitable populace,

* We cannot decide whether any truth lies at the foundation of Arnulph's report (l. III. c. 9), that Landulph, in a passionate declamation, stimulated the populace to rob and plunder the corrupted clergy.

† If the report of Landulph de St. Paulo is correct, the selection of Archbishop Anselm of Lucca for this embassy was not calculated to make a very favourable impression on the Milanese clergy; for, according to his story, Anselm was the first who persecuted such a reforming spirit in the Milanese church. This Anselm, descended from the Milanese family de Bandagio, belonged to the clergy of Milan. He was a favourite preacher, and declaimed against the vices of the corrupt clergy. In vain did Guido, archbishop of Milan, admonish him not to make such things public. To get rid of him, he persuaded the emperor to bestow on him the archbishopric of Lucca. But he found himself deceived in his expectations; for when Anselm could no longer himself operate immediately in Milan, he was the more busy with his agents, Landulph and Arialdu. *Sic hæc proclamatio contra clericos lascivos et simoniacos, per Arialdu et Landulphum diutius continuata, a præfato Anselmo de Bandagio sumsit exordium.* See c. 16.

‡ The cardinal Hildebrand cannot, as the Milanese historian Arnulph says, have been one of these legates; for Damiani, in the *Opusculum V.*, which is addressed to him, and which contains the *Actus Mediolanenses*, relates to him these incidents in such a way as presupposes that he was not present at the time of their occurrence.

§ Damiani says: *Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur*

who had before been inflamed by the zeal of Ariald and Landulph against the clergy, were at present quite as easily hurried to excess by their zeal for the dignity and freedom of the Ambrosian church. A violent uproar arose, the tocsin was sounded. But the prudent compliance of archbishop Guido restored tranquillity; and as Damiani acted in the consciousness of the authority of the Romish church resting on a divine foundation, he was neither intimidated nor disturbed by any contradiction. To the excited multitude he addressed a discourse, exhorting them to obedience to the church of Rome, the common mother, by whom the dignity of her daughter, the Ambrosian, was by no means denied or injured.* The confidence with which he spoke could not fail of its effect on a multitude, acting without any clear knowledge of their aim; but *he* regarded it as a proof of the power of this undeniable elevation, by divine right, of the Romish church upon the minds of men. Thus he was enabled to hold his spiritual court without further disturbance.

Simony being so dominant an evil in the Milanese church, he deemed it necessary to allow of some mitigation of the severity of the ecclesiastical law towards such a multitude of the guilty. Pardon was to be secured to all on condition that downwards from the archbishop, who undertook to perform a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella in Spain, they should

exoritur, non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subiacere nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontificii in illa sede competere. The Milanese historian Arnulph, who was actuated by this spirit of church freedom among the Milanese, says, in speaking of the Roman thirst for power, Qui quum principari appetant jure apostolico, videntur velle dominari omnium et cuncta suæ subdere ditioni quum doctor evangelicus suos doceat humilitatem apostolos; whereupon he cites Luke xxii. 25.

* In the words here spoken by Damiani, as he cites them himself, is contained the entire Hildebrandian system of the papacy. The power conferred on St. Peter's successors alone is immediately from God; on the other hand, patriarchates, metropolitan sees, bishoprics are of human origin, founded by emperors or kings. Romanam autem ecclesiam solus ipse fundavit, qui beato vitæ æternæ clavigero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit. Non ergo quælibet terrena sententia, sed illud verbum, quo constructum est cœlum et terra Romanam fundavit ecclesiam. Hence he concludes that, he who deprives other churches of their rights does a wrong indeed, but he who attacks the rights of the Romish church incurs the guilt of heresy, since he contends against a divine right.

bind themselves to undergo a penance proportionate to their sin, and should subscribe an oath, in which they agreed to renounce altogether the heresy of simony and of the Nicolaitans. Yet only that part of the clergy who were found qualified for their duties by their mode of life and their knowledge, should continue to retain their places.* And those who retained their places should be indebted for them, not to the illegal manner in which they had obtained them, but to the special interposition of the pope's plenary power. This was for the present a mighty triumph of the Romish church over the spirit of independence before so strongly expressed by the Ambrosian clerus, and would of course be extremely humiliating to Milanese pride.†

It was natural, that after the death of pope Nicholas II. in 1061, the contest between the two parties, which continued through this whole period of time, should burst forth again in some more violent outbreak at the new papal election. Thus far, the party in favour of reform had attached itself to the imperial interest, and used the emperor's power as a counterpoise to the arrogance of the Italian nobles. Still, however, the tendency of the Hildebrandian party would necessarily lead in the end to the making the election of the pope independent of the imperial power, as Hildebrand himself had long before distinctly intimated; and Hildebrand's opponents now sought on their side to attach themselves to the interests of the emperor; hoping, perhaps, that by professing to stand up for the rights of the emperor they might succeed, with his assistance, in accomplishing their objects. The party led by archdeacon Hildebrand intended at first to avail themselves of the minority of Henry IV. as a suitable opportunity for establishing again the example of a papal election carried through without the concurrence of the emperor; but then again they were obliged to hasten forward the election, and to forestall their opponents, in order to secure a pope devoted to Hildebrand's principles.‡ The

* Qui et literas eruditi et casti et morum gravitate viderentur honesti.

† Hence Arnulph mournfully exclaims (l. III. c. 13): O insensati Mediolanenses! Quis vos fascinavit? Heri (in the quarrel of the archbishop with Damiani) clamastis unius sellæ primatum. Hodie confunditis totius ecclesiæ statum, vere culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes.

‡ The imperial party could appeal to the fact that even after the order

other party sent delegates with the imperial crown to the court of Henry IV., and endeavoured to effect the election of a new pope there. The Hildebrandian party also despatched, it is true, the cardinal Stephen to the court of Henry IV.; but he was not even admitted to an audience. Hildebrand meantime turned the election of the pope on a man of the stricter party, Anselm, archbishop of Lucca, of whom we have already spoken. He named himself Alexander II. Thus was elevated to the papal throne a man who was known from the first as a zealous friend of the principles of reform, and who had already laboured in the same cause at Milan, without standing in any outward connection with Hildebrand, having become first connected with the latter by identity of principles. By the imperial party in Germany, however, he was not acknowledged, but this party chose for their pope, at a council held at Basle, Cadalous, bishop of Parma, under the name of Honorius II. The contest between these two popes was undoubtedly a contest between two opposite tendencies of ecclesiastical law. The opponents of the Hildebrandian system flattered themselves at least with the hope, that, if Cadalous triumphed he would abolish the ordinances respecting the

for the election of pope passed at the Lateran council under Nicholas II., no such order could be carried into execution without the emperor's concurrence. And in the *disceptatio synodalis inter Romanæ ecclesiæ defensorem et regis advocatum*, which Damiani composed in behalf of the council of Osborn in Germany, in which he employed all the sophistical arts of an advocate in defence of the papal interest, he did not himself venture to deny the right grounded thereupon, but on the contrary affirms, that men were forced by the necessity of the case to deviate from this rule, in order to prevent the dissension, uproar, and bloodshed which threatened to ensue in case the election were hastened. "*Ad hoc nos invitos traxit imminens periculum.*" He then seeks to prove, by a variety of examples taken from Holy Writ, whose meaning he perverts with the most unconscionable sophistry, that it was impossible to have here any invariable rule of proceeding, but that it was necessary to do what was best according to discretion, looking at all the circumstances. Everything depended on the disposition. The Roman church, the common mother, which was the mother of the emperor in a much higher sense than his bodily mother, the empress Agnes, had exercised as guardian the right which belonged to her. "*Quid ergo mali fecit Romana ecclesia, si filio suo, quum adhuc impubis esset, quum adhuc tutela egeret, ipsa tutoris officium subiit, et jus quod illi competeabat, implevit?*" It is here seen, as in the whole of his written vindication, how much dishonesty could flow from that party-interest which kept down the sense of truth.

celibacy of the clergy.* Had Cadalous therefore been able to maintain himself, a reaction would have ensued against the Hildebrandian system of church government. The present, then, was one of those critical epochs in history, when a decisive turn must be given one side or the other to the ecclesiastical development of the middle ages. But from this it may be gathered, that although a single event—that Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, succeeded in wresting the tutorship of Henry IV. out of the hands of the empress Agnes—had especial influence in bringing about a more speedy decision of this contest, yet the decision of it generally rested on a deeper and more necessary ground, in the progressive development of humanity and of the church. A momentary triumph which Cadalous obtained by resorting to force, could never have served, however, to advance a cause which had the worthiest portion of the church against it. Alexander was first acknowledged at the synod of Osborn in 1062, then more generally at the synod of Mantua in 1064.† Pope Alexander laboured on after the same plan with his predecessors, ‡

* Damiani (T. III. Opusc. 18, contra clericos intemperantes, diss. II. f. 206), says: *Sperant Nicolaitæ, quia, si Cadalous universali ecclesia antichristi vice præsiderit, ad eorum votum luxuriæ frenâ laxabit.*—It is to be lamented that we have no accurate account of the synod held at Basle by the Lombardian and imperial party. Though we cannot place implicit confidence in the report of Damiani, in the above cited disceptatio synodalis, yet there is probably some foundation of truth in what he says respecting the actions of this synod in relation to the abrogation of the ordinances made under pope Nicholas: *Conspirantes contra Romanam ecclesiam consilium collegistis, papam (Nicolaum) quasi per synodalem sententiam condemnastis et omnia, quæ ab eo fuerant statuta, cessare incredibili prorsus audacia præsumsistis.*

† The fierce opponent of Cadalous, cardinal Damiani, had predicted to him that he would die in that same year, *non ego te fallo, cæpto morieris in anno.* As this prediction was not fulfilled, the opposite party triumphed over the false prophet; but Damiani got off by explaining that the prophecy was fulfilled, if not by the temporal, yet by the spiritual demise of Cadalous, alluding to the sentence of condemnation passed upon him by the synod at Osborn. See T. III. opp. Damiani, f. 206.

‡ The letters of Damiani to this pope show how much the former had at heart the purification of the church from wicked abuses, the appointment of worthy men to the ecclesiastical offices, and the improvement of the spiritual order; and how earnestly he was bent on making the papal power subservient to these objects. Nor for the sake of promoting them did he fear to attack the pride of the hierarchy itself. There was a law, that no ecclesiastic or layman should appear as an accuser against his

stimulated by the zeal of a Damiani, and a Hildebrand, and supported by the energy of the latter.*

The disturbances in the Milanese church, which had been quelled in the time of pope Nicholas, broke out again more violently under Alexander. The archbishop and the rest of the clergy did not long suffer themselves to be bound by the engagements into which they had entered. Some of the learned among the clergy there now stood forth, who confidently believed they could prove from Holy Writ, and from the older fathers and ecclesiastical laws, the legality of the marriage of priests.† But the contest was not waged merely with spiritual

bishop Damiani earnestly demanded of the pope that this law might be abolished, since it secured the bishops against punishment in all their criminal and arbitrary proceedings: *Quæ tanta superbia, ut liceat episcopum per fas et nefas ad propriæ voluntatis arbitrium vivere, et quod insolenter excessum est, a subjectis suis dedignetur audire?*—*Ecce dicitur: ego sum episcopus, ego sum pastor ecclesiæ, etenim in causa fidei dignus sum, etiam in pravis moribus, æquanimiter ferri.* To this he opposes the precept in Matt. xviii., and says: *Si ecclesiæ ergo referenda est causa quorumlibet fratrum, quomodo non etiam sacerdotum?* We see here how Damiani was drawn by his purer regard for Christianity into an antagonism even with the principles expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Furthermore, he was scandalized at the custom of affixing to all papal ordinances the anathema against such as refused to comply with them, thus applying it indiscriminately to all transgressions, even in matters of the least importance. *Delinquit itaque, quisquis ille est, in illud apostolicæ constitutionis edictum, et aliquando levi quadam et perexigua offensione transgreditur, et continuo velut hæreticus et tanquam cunctis criminibus teneatur obnoxius, anathematis sententia condemnatur.* It should be considered, he said, how much this word imported; it related not to the deprivation of civil liberty, not to the confiscation of worldly goods, but to the exclusion of the individual from the highest of all blessings. *Sed Deo potius, omnium scilicet bonorum auctore, privatur.* In the ancient decretals, such a threatening was never to be found, except where the question related to the faith. Therefore, in decretals relating to other matters, other penalties should be threatened; such, for example, as pecuniary mulcts, *ne quod aliis est ad tuitionis munimenta provisum, aliis ad perniciem proveniat animarum.* See lib. I. ep. 12. Truly, we may here discern quite a different spirit, on the ethical and religious side, from that which reigns in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.

* Respecting the prevalence of simony, as it had existed up to this time, the pope (ep. 35) says to the clergy and community of Lucca: *fiabat ecclesia et res ejus ita venalis, veluti quædam terrena et vilis merx a negotiatoribus ad vendendum exposita.*

† A contemporary of Milan, the elder Landulph, a zealous advocate of the marriage of ecclesiastics, and a violent opponent of the Hildebrandian

weapons, especially after a warlike knight had joined himself to Ariald, as a popular leader against the aristocratical party; for, on the death of Landulph, his place was filled by his brother Erlembald, a knight and captain. This person had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and was intending to retire from the world to monastic life; but Ariald dissuaded him from this step, telling him that he would better serve God by uniting with him in defending the faith, and fighting against the heretics. He invited him to leave his vocation as a secular knight, and become a knight of God and of the Catholic church. "Let us deliver the church, which for so long a time has been languishing in bondage," said he to him; "thou by the law of the sword, we by the law of God."* He first undertook a pilgrimage to Rome,† where

principles, says, concerning the most eminent and learned speakers of the other party, *Hi autem quum diu per apostoli Pauli et canonum auctoritatem altercarentur; Arialdus et Landulphus proclamare ceperunt; vetera transierunt et facta sunt omnia nova. Quod olim in primitiva ecclesia a patribus sanctis concessum est, modo indubitanter prohibetur.* They would admit only the decisions of Ambrose, who, to be sure, spoke plainly enough against priestly wedlock. Their opponents did not venture, indeed, to impugn his authority; but they cited only those passages of Ambrose which spoke of the sacredness of marriage, which described the chastity of the unmarried life as a charisma, a thing which no person could bestow on himself; and from this they argued that what was a gift of grace, ought not to be made a law for all. Imposing a yoke on the clergy, which they were unable to bear, was only laying the foundation for greater evils. *Natura humana dum magis constringitur, amplius illicitis accenditur. Vetando unam et propriam uxorem centum fornicatrices ac adulteria multa concedis. Vid. l. III. c. 23, etc. in Muratori Scriptores rer. Italicar. T. IV.* Though the discourses which the historian here introduces are not composed by himself, yet we perceive from them that there were still those who knew how to defend the marriage of ecclesiastics on good grounds, and who valued more highly the decisions of the sacred oracles, and of the common Christian consciousness, than the papal decretals. This Landulph complains that the clergy, through indolence, neglected the means of defending themselves, by the sacred Scriptures, against the false priests. *Ecclesiastici ordinis multos quodam fastidio nequissimæ pigritiæ tædiatos cognosco, qui in posteris multa sacrarum scripturarum rudimenta ostendendo tradere potuissent, quibus sese a pseudo-sacerdotibus defendere ac liberare potuissent minime operam dederunt, qui dum falsas prædicationes per simulatam castitatem ac ficta jejunia, caritatem habere sese omnino simulantes donis, privatis divitiis, in domibus viduarum aut in angulis platearum prædicantes, gladios acute subministrant acutissimos.* See c. 1.

* See the Life of Ariald, by Landulph de St. Paulo, c. 16.

† According to the report of Landulph de St. Paulo, Ariald and

he accused the archbishop, before pope Alexander, as a recusant and a perjured man, who was again promoting Nicolaitanism and simony ; and as the pope had in his youth been among the first instigators of these movements in Milan, he was the more inclined to favour them now. He exhorted Erlembald to defend without wavering the cause of the faith. He presented him with the consecrated banner of St. Peter, which he was to unfurl in case of necessity, as a champion for the apostolical chair, and for the faith. He appointed him vexillifer Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ* (standard-bearer of the Roman and of the universal church). Erlembald brought back with him also a declaration of the pope, by which the archbishop was excommunicated. This was the signal for bloody quarrels in Milan. The people, fickle in their favour, in their zeal, and in their passions, sometimes allowed themselves to be inflamed by the speeches of Ariald, against the corruptions of the clergy, sometimes by declamation about the liberty and dignity of the Ambrosian church, and against the disgrace brought upon them by Roman arrogance. Ariald, after ten years of toil, fell himself a victim, in the year 1067, to the cruel vengeance of the exasperated aristocratical party. Upon this plenipotentiaries were sent from Rome to Milan for the purpose of healing these schisms in the church. By these the former ordinances against simony and Nicolaitanism were renewed ; but, at the same time, it was forbidden the laity to set themselves up, under the pretext of zeal for the ecclesiastical laws, as judges over the clergy, or to use violence against them.

In Florence, also, through the influence of monks fired with zeal against the corrupted clergy,† and led on by the venerable abbot John Gualbert, of Vallombrosa, near Florence, divisions, ending in bloodshed, had been created between the party of the archbishop, who was accused of simony, and a portion of the clergy, and of the people. In vain had Peter Damiani

Erlembald travelled in company to Rome, and Ariald was received by Alexander II. as an old friend.

* See Landulph de S. P. c. 16, and the other Life by Andreas, T. IV. s. 34. Respecting this banner of St. Peter, presented to Erlembald, Arnulph, however, says : Quod appensum lanceæ homicidiorum videtur indicium, quum profecto nefas sit, tale aliquid suspicari de Petro aut aliud habuisse vexillum præter quod datum est in evangelio ; qui vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.

† See above, p. 69.

sought, by personal negotiation, and by letters, to heal the divisions, and to put a stop to separatism; but when Peter, a monk delegated by the abbot John Gualbert, was supposed to have proved by the judgment of God, having passed between the flames of two lighted pyres, placed near each other,* that the charges laid against the archbishop were true, and had thus gained over to his side of the question the enthusiasm of the whole populace, the archbishop was compelled to resign his office, and thus quiet was restored.

Hildebrand, who already for a long time past had been the soul of the papacy, was now more so than ever, when at length, as archdeacon and chancellor of the Romish church, he stood at the head of all its affairs. He whose superior understanding all acknowledged and followed; whom his enthusiastic friend Damiani, because he was forced to serve him often in spite of himself, was wont to call his St. Satan,† he, as Damiani says of him, ruled at Rome more than the pope himself.‡ He was considered the founder of a new empire of Rome over the world.§

* See the report of the party opposed to the archbishop, concerning this incident, *Life of Johannes Gualbert*, c. 64. Mabillon, *Acta Sanc. O. B. Sac.* VI. P. II. f. 283, and Victor III., or Desiderii Casinens. *Dialog.* III. f. 856. *Bibliothec. patr.* Lugd. T. XVIII.

† *Sanctum Satanum meum.* *Ep.* I. I. *ep.* 16. T. I. f. 16.

‡ Damiani's verses upon him:

*Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce;
Plus domino papæ, quam domino pareo papæ.*

And on Hildebrand's relation to the pope, who was raised by him to the summit of power:

*Papam rite colo; sed te prostratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit iste Deum.*

On Hildebrand's short stature, whence he was called by his enemies Hildebrandellus:

*Hunc qui cuncta domat Sisiphi mensura coaretat,
Quemque tremunt multi, nolens mihi subditur uni.*

§ This is expressed in a remarkable way, in a poem by Alphanus archbishop of Salerno, written on Hildebrand, after Alexander II. had by his means gained the victory; published by Baronius at the year 1061, N. 32. It contains the characteristic comparison of the old and the new Rome, of her political and her spiritual sovereignty over the world. Concerning the *artibus Hildebrandi*:

*Ex quibus caput urbium
Roma justior et prope
Totus orbis eas timet.—
Quanta vis anathematis?
Quicquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum
Voce tu modica facis.*

Accordingly, on the death of Alexander II., in the year 1073, he had sufficiently prepared the way by his labours and efforts, extending through more than twenty years, to enter into the contest under his own name, for the full realization of the system of church government, the grand features of which we have already seen clearly defined in this last epoch.

II. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION IN ITS OTHER RELATIONS.

I. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

THE plan which, in the history of the popes since the time of Leo IX., we saw continually becoming more distinctly defined, the plan of making the church wholly independent of the secular power, had still to contend with obstacles which passed over from the preceding period into this. The fact that the abuses, springing out of the influence of a rude secular power on the church, had reached such a pitch, was the very one which, as we have shown in the preceding remarks, called forth the opposite efforts of the party in favour of reform. Among the most pernicious influences of this kind was the influence in *disposing of church benefices*. We noticed in the preceding period what had been done in the Carolingian age to put a check to the abuses thence arising by the revival of the regular mode of ecclesiastical elections; and the effort was so far successful, as that the ancient form in the election of bishops was again introduced. Synods of the ninth century endeavoured by new laws to preserve this custom in force. Thus, the third council of Valence, in 855, decreed in its seventh canon, that on the death of a bishop the monarch should be requested to allow the clergy and the community of the place to make a canonical choice; and then a worthy person should be sought for within the diocese itself, or, at least, if that were not possible, in its neighbourhood. But even should the king send along one taken from the clergy of his court, still his qualifications, in respect to moral character and knowledge, should be carefully inquired into, as well as the

fact whether or no he had attempted to procure the office for himself by simony; and only when no objection could be brought against him in these respects, should he be accepted. It was made the duty of metropolitans to see that these determinations were exactly observed. Yet the law made by this synod proves it to be the fact, also, that encroachments of various kinds were to be apprehended from the monarchs, and it is presupposed by the law that their permission was needed to institute such an election. There was a standing formulary for expressing the permission granted by the prince to proceed to an ecclesiastical election of this sort.* This, in the design of the church, was to be nothing more, it is true, than a mere formality; but it might easily fall in with the humour of the monarch, to make more out of it, to consider himself entitled to refuse the permission for holding such an election, or to refuse the confirmation of it, to appoint some other person in place of the one elected in canonical form. There were those who said to the monarchs "in your giving permission to hold a church election it is implied that such a person must be chosen, as *you* would have him to be."† "The property of the church," said they, "is in the monarch's power so far as that he may bestow it on whom he pleases;"‡ and much was now depending on the fact how the bishops would demean themselves with respect to these claims of the sovereign power. Very far was it from being the case that all could show the energy and firmness which a Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, displayed in defending the liberties and rights of the church against the aggressions of monarchs, and no less of popes. Lewis III., king of France, refused to recognize the election of a bishop of Beauvais, made by a provincial synod, held under the presidency of archbishop Hinkmar, but appointed a person bishop who was chosen, it is true, by the clergy and the community of Beauvais, but had been found by the bishops of the province unfit for the office, both in respect to mental

* *Petitam electionem concedere*; see Hincmar. opuscul. 12. c. 3. T. II. f. 190; and, as we see from that passage, it was from this customary formula, the right of the monarchs to intermeddle with the election itself was drawn by others.

† *Illum debent episcopi et clerus ac plebs eligere, quem vos vultis et quem jubetis*. See archbishop Hinkmar's letter to king Lewis III. l. c.

‡ *Vid. l. c. c. IV. : Res ecclesiasticæ episcoporum in vestra sunt potestate, ut cuicumque volueritis eas donetis*, l. c.

capacity and knowledge, and in respect to moral qualifications. But Hinkmar protested against this sort of proceeding; and the language above described, with which flattering courtiers justified the conduct of their sovereign, he compared to that of the seducer of our first parents; language spewed from hell.* Yet, in the majority of cases, where the princes had not to do with such firm and consistent defenders of church freedom, they could succeed, without difficulty, in deriving from the right once conceded to them of exercising an influence in the choice of bishops, more than was thereby intended to be conceded;† accordingly it became a common thing in France for the kings to appoint men from among the clergy of their own court to the more important episcopal stations.‡ Bishops, who found it for their interest so to do, themselves contributed to make the churches thus dependent on the monarchs. In addition to this, the universal custom of feudal relations, caused these to be transferred to the property and right of the church; as, in fact, the bishops and abbots sustained a peculiar character as political orders in the state. Now as the symbols of feudal tenure differed in such a way as to indicate the different official relations of vassals, so to express the feudal tenure of bishops, a symbol was employed, corresponding to their official character. This symbol was the presentation of a bishop's staff and ring, the scandalous thing about which was, that the symbol referred directly to the spiritual authority of the bishops, and it might, therefore, seem as if monarchs, who were laymen, were wishing to interfere with the spiritual province.§ The monarchs, and

* *Ille malignus spiritus*, he writes to king Lewis, *qui per serpentem primos parentes nostros in paradiso decepit et inde illos ejecit, per tales in aures vestras hæc sibilat.*

† Among the letters of Servatus Lupus, ep. 79, ad Ratramnum monachum, we find the nomination of a French bishop by the king cited with the formula: *quem rex esse episcopum jussit*; and in the 81st letter it is said pope Zacharias conceded to king Pipin, out of respect to the bad times, the right to provide for the supplying of vacant bishoprics with suitable men, *ut acerbitati temporis industria sibi probatissimorum decedentibus episcopis mederetur.*

‡ Vid. l. c. ep. 81: *Non esse novicium aut temerarium, quod ex palatio honorabilioribus maxime ecclesiis (rex) procurat antistites.*

§ Cardinal Humbert, one of the fiercest zealots for the principles of the Hildebrandian church-reform, in his work *Adversus Simoniacos*, which has been published by Martene and Durand, in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, T. V., seeks to show (l. III. c. 11) how, through the fault of the bishops, the influence of the monarchs had increased in

the defenders of their sovereign prerogatives, appealed to the fact that bishops and abbots, as vassals, stood in precisely the same relation with all other subjects to the secular power; that the latter had to determine respecting the disposition of that which was its own; and that bishops and abbots, as vassals, acknowledged their relation of dependence on it; and, like all others, were obliged to take the feudal oath, according to ancient usage. It was in this sense the archbishop Hinkmar, in his letter, already referred to, addressed to pope Adrian II., represented the king as having replied to his threat that he, the archbishop, would withdraw fellowship from him if he did not hearken to the pope, "in that case you may be at liberty to perform the ecclesiastical ceremonies, but you shall lose all your power over the country and the people."* On the other hand, it was maintained by the other party that property once consecrated to the church had become thereby sacred to God—a holy, inalienable possession of the church; and that monarchs incurred the guilt of sacrilege whenever they presumed arbitrarily to determine anything about it;† and, by stretching this point a little further, it was found that bishops, as persons consecrated to God, as the organs of union between heaven and earth, must be distinguished from secular vassals; and it was deemed scandalous that hands made sacred by the

appointing to church benefices. *Nam (potestas sæcularis) primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionum cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis, in quibus omnibus cernens contradictorem sibi neminem nec qui moverit pennam vel aperiret os, ad majora progreditur et jam sub nomine investituræ dare primo tabellas vel qualescunque porrigere virgulas, dein baculos. Quod maximum nefas sic jam inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur.* We here then recognize already the principle for which Hildebrand afterwards so stoutly contended, that the lay investiture must be done away with as a thing utterly impious. *Et quidem memini, he says next, me vidisse a sæcularibus principibus aliquos pastoralibus baculis et annulis investiri de episcopatibus et abbatibus metropolitanosque eorum et primates, quamvis præsentessent, nec inde requisitos nec aliquid contra hiscere ausos.*

* *Quoniam si in mea sententia permanerem, ad altare ecclesiæ meæ cantare possem, de rebus vero et hominibus nullam potestatem haberem.* Vid. Hincmar. Opp. T. II. f. 697

† See e. g. Hincmar in the above-cited letter, concerning the arrogated election of a bishop, addressed to king Lewis III.: *Res et facultates ecclesiasticæ oblationes appellantur, quia domino offeruntur*, T. II. f. 191; and in his letter to king Lewis of Germany (Hincmar, Opp. T. II. f.

priestly character, and worthy of producing the Lord's body, should be bound to render so secular a service as the oath of vassalage.*

Midway between the two parties thus diametrically opposed to each other, of which the one defended the interest of the secular sovereign, the other that of the hierarchy, both in a one-sided manner, sprang up still a third and moderate party of a conciliating tendency, consisting of such pious bishops as clearly distinguished and separated spiritual things from secular, in reference to the latter acknowledging and endeavouring faithfully to fulfil their duties towards the ruling powers, while they aimed, on the other hand, to fulfil their *spiritual* calling in a manner so much the more independent, and free from all disturbing influences—men whose principle it was to follow the directions laid down in the New Testament concerning obedience to magistrates—to give to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.†

That right of investiture which the monarchs claimed in respect to bishoprics, was continually abused by them more and more; either by capriciously bestowing them as benefices on their favourites, or in making them a matter of traffic and

140), says he: *Ecclesiæ nobis a Deo commissæ non talia sunt beneficia et hujusmodi regis proprietas, ut pro libitu suo inconsulte illas posset dare vel tollere, quoniam omnia, quæ ecclesiæ sunt, Deo consecrata sunt, unde qui ecclesiæ aliquid fraudatur aut tollit, sacrilegium facere noscitur.*

* Vid. Hincmar, l. c. f. 140: *Et nos episcopi Domino consecrati non sumus hujusmodi homines sæculares, ut in vassalatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere; manus enim chrismate sancto peruncta, quæ de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corporis Christi et sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus sæculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum.*

† Among such belonged Adalbero, bishop of Metz, who administered this office from A. D. 984 to A. D. 1005. Of him an anonymous biographer, his contemporary, says: *Noverat et sapienti ingenio præviderat, quoniam quidem licet esse genere et sanguine nulli mortalium inferior, licet posset, non debere resistere potestati, dicente domino ac jubente, reddere quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, videlicet Cæsari tributum, vectigal, census, Deo autem pietatis opera, orationum munera, eleemosynarum fructum.* He deemed it better sua quam se pessundare, terrena distrahere quam spiritualia. See Labbe *Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum*, T. I. f. 678. This also was the principle of Bernhard, bishop of Hildesheim, in the beginning of the eleventh century. Vid. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B.*, P. I., the account of his life, s. 37, f. 223.

sale. Among the political disturbances of the tenth century, and among the detestable scenes of confusion and disorder which at that time proceeded from the very seat of the popes, the abuse of simony went on with gigantic strides, as has already been made sufficiently manifest by what we have remarked in the history of the papacy. Already, at the commencement of the eleventh century, before the papacy had become stained anew in so disgraceful a manner, the venerable abbot William of Dijon wrote a very bold letter to pope John XVIII., calling upon him, in the most decided and emphatic language, to repress the plague of simony, which was now spreading on all sides. "They who should be styled the salt of the earth, and the light of the world, ought, at least, to have pity on Christendom. Enough, that Christ has been *once* sold for the salvation of the world. How offensive must the water of the fountain-head become at the extremes, if the brooks near by it are so foul! The pastors and the priests, yea all, should remember the judge who with the axe in his hand stands before the door."*

It was attempted to palliate this simony by resorting to the distinction already mentioned between matters spiritual and secular. The money, it was said, is given only for the property, not for the spiritual office. The consecration to the spiritual office is bestowed for nothing.† The bishops followed

* See the Life of abbot Wilhelm, s. 19, 1st January; or Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B.* Vol. VI. P. I. f. 330.

† The famous abbot, Abbo of Fleury, in the tenth century, said on the contrary: *Hujusmodi emtores quasdam velut telas aranearum texunt, quibus se defendunt, quod non benedictionem, sed res ecclesiæ possessuri emunt. Cujus vero possessio est ecclesia, nisi solius Dei?* See Aimoin's Life of Abbo, Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. sacr.* VI. P. I. f. 45. Thus we find this species of traffic prevailing in the tenth century; and it extended into the eleventh: for in the measures proposed for the reform of the church under Henry III., it was necessary to combat in particular this pretext in defence of simony. See Damiani, *Epp.* I. 13; *Nonnulli clericorum vitam per exterioris habitus speciem mentientes hoc pertinaciter dogmatizant, non ad simoniacam hæresin pertinere, si quis episcopatum a rege vel quolibet mundi principe per interventionem cœmptionis acquirat, si tantum modo consecrationem gratis accipiat*: and Cardinal Humbert compares those who supposed they could justify their simony in this way with the Pharisees, *Matt.* xxiii. 16. *Ac si præpostero vestigio callem Phariseorum terentes, astruere contendant solum sanctificatorem honorari debere, sanctificata autem nihil esse.* See his *Work Adversus Simoniacos*, l. III. c. 1.

the example of the princes, when after having obtained their own places by simony, they sought to indemnify themselves for what they had been obliged to pay by sales of benefices which they made themselves.* This abuse had for its natural consequence, that the most incompetent and the most unworthy men might aspire and could attain to episcopal and other spiritual offices, and in the churches the most enormous depredations were committed.†

Among the state burdens, from which the churches were not exempted, belonged the obligation of the bishops and abbots to furnish their respective contributions to the general Heerban, or fine for the army. True, the clergy were, in the preceding period, declared exempt from the obligation to do military service in person, and they were forbidden to engage in war by the laws of the church; ‡ but owing to the twofold spiritual and secular vocation of the bishops, and to the wars and desolating incursions of barbarians in those agitated times which followed the Carolingian period, it came about that these ancient and ever and anon freshly inculcated laws were often violated, while the violation of them failed to attract notice. In the ninth and tenth centuries, when Germany and France were given up to the devastations of pagan tribes, the Slavonians, Normans, and Hungarians, even those pious bishops who would gladly have lived exclusively devoted to their spiritual vocation as pastors, were moved by concern for

* That zealous labourer for the interests of the church, archbishop Gerhard of Arras and Cambray, wrote to bishop Adalbero of Laon, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in reference to this: *Nihil defuturum arbitramur, si hujusmodi usus increverit, ut non sedes ecclesiæ venales existant, et summa sacerdoti mercaturæ compendiis venditur sicutque pecuniosus quisque ad culmen pastoralis regiminis aspiret.*

† Humbert describes (in l. II. c. 35) the ruin of the churches which proceeded from the bishops and abbots seeking to indemnify themselves for what they had paid or promised for their benefices, at the expense of the churches. He says that many churches and monasteries, especially in Italy, were in this way plundered and desolated.

‡ Yet Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, a man of piety, and a zealous promoter of learning, had not only to complain that his monastery was impoverished by contributions levied for military service, but that he was obliged to sacrifice his all to obtain from king Charles the Bald exemption from personal service. He says of this monarch, in allusion to this circumstance (ep. 18.): *Ut quoniam studia mea non magnificat, vel dignetur considerare propositum et alia mihi injungere, quæ ab illo penitus non abhorreant.*

their communities, to direct the measures for defence, and by their personal influence, which was most efficient, to stimulate the zeal and courage of the combatants. Thus about the middle of the ninth century, when the Hungarians, after having committed enormous depredations in a wide circle of country, threatened the city of Cambray, the bishop Fulbert not only provided for the fortification of the town, but appeared himself on the bulwarks, running from place to place, and exhorting his soldiers to fight manfully, for God would give them the victory over the heathen foreigners.* So, when in the year 955, the Hungarians deluged Bavaria, and threatened the unfortified town of Augsburg, Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, who cheerfully sacrificed himself for the good of his community, mounted on horseback, in his priestly robes, without shield or buckler, and amid flights of javelins and stones, hurled into the city, directed the defence of it at the first pressure of danger, and then, after the termination of the first engagement, gave orders for the erection of fortifications until night-fall, spending the rest of the night, a few hours for repose excepted, in prayer. Then after matins, he distributed the holy supper to the combatants, who were about to return to the fight, exhorting them to put their trust in the Lord, who would be with them, so that they had nothing to fear, even in the shadow of death.† So Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, in the beginning of the eleventh century, provided for the defence of the people committed to his guidance against the incursions of the Normans.‡ Yet even where such extremities were not urging, it was reckoned by many as part of the duty of giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, that they should personally lead their troops to the Heerban,§ while others endeavoured to unite both together, giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, in such way, as that they might contribute to the war in all that duty required, without doing military service in person.|| And many influential voices

* See the *Chronique d'Arras et de Cambray*, par Balderic. ed. Paris, 1834. l. I. page 114.

† Life of bishop Ulrich in Mabillon, l. c. *Sæc.* V. f. 440. s. 42; or in the *Actis S. Bolland.* IV. Jul.

‡ See his Life, Mabillon, l. c. *Sæc.* VI. P. I. f. 206.

§ Like the above-mentioned Bernward, l. c. f. 223.

|| Like the above-mentioned bishop Adalbero of Metz. Labbe, *Bibliotheca Ms. T. I.* f. 678.

spoke also decidedly against uniting the spiritual vocation with the secular sword. Thus Radbod, archbishop of Utrecht, in the tenth century, declared to his prince, "We are bound indeed to obey magistrates, but it becomes not a bishop to intermeddle in secular concerns. Their only business is to contend with spiritual weapons for the weal of the king and of the people, and with persevering prayer to seek for the conquest of souls.* We have already remarked, on a former page, how energetically, not sparing even a pope, a Damiani protested against this unspiritual behaviour. He speaks, in the letter referred to,† very strongly against those bishops who, when the possessions of their own church were attacked, forthwith appealed to the force of arms in their defence, and perhaps retaliated the wrong they had suffered with another still greater. "With what face," says he, "can the priest, as his duty requires, undertake to reconcile contending parties with each other, while he himself strives to recompense evil with evil? Among all the jewel virtues which our Saviour brought from heaven, there were two which shone with the greatest brilliancy, which he first exhibited in his own life, and then taught his people to exhibit in theirs, love and patience. It was love that moved the Son of God to come down from heaven; by patience he overcame the devil. Armed with these virtues the apostles had founded the church, and its defenders, the martyrs, had triumphantly endured many kinds of death. If, then, it is nowhere allowed to grasp the sword for the faith in which the universal church lives, how should this be permitted for the temporal and perishable goods of the church?" Following out these principles, he declared, that in like manner there was no authority for resorting to force against idolaters and heretics, and that the pious should prefer rather to be slain by them than to be compelled to this.‡ He cites an example to show how much more could be effected in these times, when religious impressions were strong, by such

* See his Life. Mabillon, l. c. Sæc. V. f. 30.

† Lib. IV. ep. 9. f. 56. T. I.

‡ Sancti viri, quum prævalent, hæreticos idolorumque cultores nequaquam perimunt; sed potius ab eis pro fide catholica perimi non refugiant. Quomodo ergo pro rerum vilium detrimento fidelis fidelem gladiis impetat, quem secum utique redemptum Christi sanguine non ignorat?

means. than by violence. A French abbot, with whom a more powerful man had a dispute about some property, having been attacked by the latter with force of arms, forbade his subjects to seize their weapons in his defence. With a band of unarmed monks, dressed in monkish habits, and marching under the banner of the cross, he went out to meet the armed force; but the knight and his followers were seized with such awe at this spectacle, that they dismounted from their horses, threw away their weapons, and sued for pardon.* After the same manner with Damiani spoke another eminent bishop of the eleventh century, Fulbert, of Chartres, against bishops who had recourse to the sword. He would not allow such persons to be called bishops; for this would be a desecration of that venerable name.† They should follow, he said, the example of Christ, and conquer their enemies only by patience and meekness. Nor would he allow any weight whatever to the authority of any person, however exalted in rank or influence, which was brought against him in justification of this abuse; appealing to the words of St Paul, that not even an angel from heaven could preach any other gospel.

We noticed in the preceding period the influence which the church gradually acquired over the administration of justice, as opposed to arbitrary will and violence. To this point belongs the spiritual judicature of the pope and of the bishops, which was indeed recognized even by the laity, and which could punish many species of immorality that could not be reached by any other judicial power. Already was the principle established in theory, that persons excluded from the communion of the church were rendered incompetent also for all civil offices and occupations. From the church proceeded the first attempts to place a check, at least for the moment, on the general right of private war, and to introduce cessations of hostilities for certain periods. Thus in France, when, after several years of severe famine, the people were delivered from

* Also, in his letter to pope Alexander II. (l. I. ep. 15), Damiani, speaking of the corruption of the clergy, complains of the employment of the clergy in military service: "ferro contra nostri ordinis regulam dimicamus."

† Sane nequaquam audeo illos episcopos nominare, ne religioso nomini injuriam faciam. Vid. Martene et Durand Thesaur. nov. anecdotor. T. I. f. 130.

great suffering and distress by an unlooked for year of plenty, and the public mind was thereby disposed to gratitude to God, and susceptible to feelings of contrition, the bishops and abbots, in the year 1032, availed themselves of the opportunity at several ecclesiastical assemblies, to exhort the people to peace.* The circumstances of the times procured a ready admission for their counsels into the minds of the people, and with hands outstretched to heaven, all ranks and classes exclaimed, "Peace! Peace!" The bishops required that the weapons of war should be laid aside, and all injuries mutually forgiven. Every Friday, the people should restrict themselves to a diet of bread and water; on Saturday, they should abstain from flesh and from all food in which there was fat; and in undertaking this, all should bind themselves under oath, and in recompense for it all should be freed from every other species of church penance. But whoever refused to bind himself in this way, should be excluded from the communion of the church, should be debarred from the sacraments in the article of death, and refused burial according to the rites of the church. These measures were opposed by Gerhard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, who maintained that the bishops had no right to bind such burdens on the people, and no authority to prescribe as law what the gospel left to the free choice of all. Owing to the diversity of the physical powers of endurance, as well as of moral condition, it was impossible to impose the same kind of fasting on all, nor could this one species of penance be sufficient for all. These representations of Gerhard made, it is true, no sort of impression; nor did that proposed universal peace really go into effect; for this high excitement of feeling passed away quite as suddenly as it had arisen, and the great number of bad ecclesiastics did not know how to throw themselves into the crisis so as to derive enduring effects from this awakening. On the contrary, the wicked lives of many bishops, who obtained their places by

* According to the Chronicle of Baldrich (c. 47), one of the bishops resorted to a "pious fraud," pretending he had received a letter from heaven, which contained an invitation to peace on earth. Similar frauds may have contributed to the wonderful works performed, as the story went, before the assembly of bishops, though a good deal may be referred to the strong excitement which then prevailed. See Glaber Rudolph *Histor. sui temporis*, l. IV. c. 5.

simony, had the opposite influence.* Ten years later, however, the requisitions were let down at several French synods, and men were content to settle the matter thus: that in remembrance of the time of preparation for Christ's passion to the resurrection, that is from Thursday evening till Monday morning, no person should be arraigned before a tribunal, and no person use violence towards another. These intervals of peace were styled *treugæ* or *treviæ Dei* (the truces of God); and it was the church which ordained them, and saw that they were sacredly observed.†

2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

The church in its internal organization presents to view the same causes of corruption, in the mixing in of the secular with spiritual matters, which we have had occasion to observe in what has gone before; and we perceive that the great mass of abuses of the grossest description would of necessity call forth the effort after a radical reformation, unless the church had become thoroughly secularized, and deprived of all power of healthy action. Undoubtedly, pious bishops might avail themselves of their two-fold character, as spiritual shepherds, and as political orders and secular lords, to introduce many improvements in the relations of civil society, to operate in manifold ways for alleviating the distress of the people,‡ and

* See the complaints of Glaber Rudolph, l. c.

† See the Chronicle of Glaber Rudolph, l. c.; and Harduin's Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 919.

‡ Fulbert of Chartres demands of the bishops, in the above-cited letter, "*Pascent pauperes ecclesiæ, causa viduarum et pupillorum ingrediatur ad eos, vestiant nudos, et cætera paternitatis officia filiis suis impendant:*" and pious bishops of these times responded to this demand by true works of holy love. It is related of Radbod, bishop of Triers, that he renounced all the pomp of the episcopal office, so as to have it in his power to devote his whole income to the support of the poor and sick. It was his daily task to visit the sick and provide for the indigent. See his Life, Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. O. B. T. V. f. 28.* When Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, had in a time of great scarcity exhausted his whole treasury to alleviate the distress, he, in order to give further assistance, converted all the ornaments and silver vessels of the church into money, saying, he could not endure it that dead metal should remain unconsumed while men created after God's image, and redeemed by the precious blood of

for the promotion of trades, arts, and sciences; and many pious and active men, especially in Germany, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as, for example, a Bernward,* and a Godehard† of Hildesheim, an Ulric of Augsburg, particularly distinguished themselves by such labours for the good of Germany. But the advantages to be derived by pious bishops from this union were also accompanied by great evils. Many entirely forgot in the secular, the spiritual character. In candidates for the episcopal office, men looked rather at the fact whether the person was of noble descent, whether he

Christ, were dying with hunger. He purchased up provisions, and supported a very large body of poor people, who, from every quarter, took refuge with him. He rescued from starvation those whom he found lying half dead in the public highways, and he daily distributed means of subsistence to all as long as this time of distress lasted. Mabillon, l. c. f. 617. The same prelate took great pains to provide for the instruction of the youth: he taught the young men to translate Latin books into English; he instructed them in music and metre, scattering among them, as he taught, friendly and wholesome words of advice. Priests, abbots, and bishops were among his scholars. Adalbero, bishop of Metz, concerning whom we have spoken already, displayed a Christian love that overcame all feelings of disgust, when that terrible pestilence of the middle ages, the St. Anthony's fire (*ignis sacer*, or *St. Antonii*), made such ravages. *Manibus pedibusque ardentibus, hic perditio uno, hic utroque truncatus pede, hic medio adustus, aliquis tunc primum aduri incipiens undecunque confluebant*; every day he devoted himself personally to eighty or a hundred of these sick persons. See Labbe, *Bibliotheca nov.* Ms. T. I. f. 673.

* The daily employments of bishop Bernward, of Hildesheim, till noon are thus described by priest Tangmar, his teacher, who wrote his *Life*: "After having celebrated mass, he first examined the suits and difficulties which were brought before him; then he attended to the settling of accounts with his clergy, whom he had commissioned to distribute alms and to look after the poor; then went round the workshops, and inspected all the labours, in order to encourage industry. He himself had learned something of the useful arts and occupations, and he endeavoured to promote them with great zeal within his own diocese. He constantly took with him many sprightly young men, whom he stimulated on the spot to imitate everything which he saw beautiful and new in the arts. See Mabillon, *Act. Sanct.* O. B. T. VI. P. I. f. 205, or in Leibnitz, *Script. rerum Brunsvic.* T. I.

† Bishop Godehard, Bernward's successor, prosecuted these labours. As there was a marshy district of country near the city, the scene of many ghost stories, and a terror to the populace, he founded on the spot a chapel dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and a hospital for the poor, and so put an end to the fear of ghosts and to superstition. See the account of his life at the IV. May, c. 4.

had powerful connections and a talent for worldly business, than whether he was possessed of the true spiritual qualifications. And the external advantages connected with these offices, made them coveted the more by such as were aiming only after power and gain; and thus the ancient laws of the church respecting the qualifications requisite for such offices, and respecting the canonical age, fell more and more into desuetude, so that even children could be promoted to episcopal posts, in whose case the customary forms for the installation of a bishop according to the ecclesiastical laws, could only be gone through with in mummary, as that zealous advocate for the reformation of the church, Atto, bishop of Vercelli, bitterly complains.*

As with the bishoprics, so was it also with the other subordinate offices of the church, which allured men by the revenues and honours attached to them; and the well-disposed bishops must have felt themselves embarrassed when they could find among their clergy no men actuated by a like spirit with their own, no willing and competent organs.

We saw springing up in the preceding period an attempt at a reformation of the clergy, which, for a beginning, had salutary effects, viz. the canonical constitution of the clergy; but the best laws and forms could avail nothing without the true animating spirit, and the thing turned by degrees into a mere show. Nobles, attracted by the property and income of the canonicates, intruded into them; the ancient rule was every day less observed, and one body after another fell back into the ancient forms of the society; finally nothing was left but community of residence. They availed themselves of their collegial union only in the chapter of the cathedral, for the purpose of rendering themselves more independent in the administration of the church funds, and of withdrawing themselves entirely from the bishop's oversight. They tolerated none but the nobly born in their midst; and if a bishop who would reduce them to order was not a man of particular

* See his tract, *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*. Vid. D'Achery, *Spicilegia*, T. I. f. 423: *Quidam autem adeo mente et corpore obcecantur, ut ipsos etiam parvulos ad pastorem promovere curam non dubitent, quos nec mente nec corpore idoneos esse constet.* And Glaber Rudolph complains bitterly of the fact, that as a boy was chosen pope (Benedict IX.) so too there were bishops in the age of boyhood. Hist. IV. c. 5.

descent, they thought themselves the more entitled to despise him.* Those nobles who had managed to procure for themselves the first places, distributed among themselves all the revenues; and often for the clergy of lower grade, educated in the schools so as not to be on the same level with their predecessors in ignorance, nothing was left but the reversion. Men appealed to usage in defence of this abuse.† Those often enriched themselves the most who cared little or nothing for the service of the church, to the injury of those who laboured hardest, but who received little or nothing at all from the revenues, and had to be content with the expectancy.‡

If people taken from the then rude order of knights, men who sought in the revenues of the church only the means of comfortable or luxurious living, could acquire church benefices without any further preparation, it may be readily inferred what ignorance and rudeness must have prevailed among the clergy. A Ratherius must exhort his clergy not to frequent the public houses for the purpose of drinking, not to get drunk, not to appear with the marks of intoxication at the altar, not to keep dogs and falcons for the chase, not to wear

* Thus the clergy, who were dissatisfied with the zeal for reform manifested by Ratherius, bishop of Verona, inferred from the circumstance that he made no great parade, that he surely must have been of low origin; and they reproached him with this; Ratherius represents them as saying of him: Forsitan in patria sua fuerat bacularis (a magistrate's servant); ideo illi tam honor omnis est vilis, filius carpentarii, ideo tam guarus tamque voluntarius est basilicas struendi vel restruendi. See his *qualitatis conjectura opera*, ed. Ballerin. f. 376; or D'Achery, *Spicilegia*, T. I. f. 358.

† The bishop Ratherius, who failed in all his attempts to have the income of the church benefices divided more equally, and in a manner more conducive to the benefit of the church, among the haughty and intractable clergy who were combined against him, says on this subject: quod generaliter omnibus est Clericis delegatum, ita inæqualiter et per massaritias (by the single estates apportioned as benefices) dividere, ut quidam illorum inde fiant ex pauperrimis locupletissimi, quidam mediocriter, quidam pæne nihil ex eo accipiant omnino per usum et consuetudinem illorum quos jamdiu tenet barathrum; i. e. those from whom this dissolution of the canonical life had originally proceeded, whom he describes as being in hell. See his tract *De discordia inter ipsum et Clericos*. D'Achery, l. c. f. 364. opp. Ballerin, f. 487.

‡ Ratherius says: Qui majus Deo in ecclesia exhibent servitium, aut nihil aut modicum accipiant, qui pæne nihil de famulatio unquam acutant domini, locupletes de rebus ecclesiasticis fiant.

weapons, not to come to the altar with side-swords and in spurs. To be sure, Ratherius laboured in a country where the corruption of the church had reached its highest pitch.*

The influence of a secular family interest could not be prevented from insinuating itself, in the appointments to church offices, by the laws of celibacy; for as Boniface had already met with much resistance in introducing these laws, so the disregard to them became continually more common.† Ratherius found it to be a custom for the clergymen to live in wedlock, and to leave their property to their children; in which way property of the church, wrongfully inherited, became private property. He found it customary for the sons of clergymen to become clergymen again, for children from the families of clergymen to marry into them again; so that he must entreat them, at least, not to allow their sons to become clergymen again, nor their daughters to marry clergymen, lest this criminal, unspiritual mode of life should be propagated without end.‡ And Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in a letter to the clergy of his diocese, complains of the manner in which the church funds thus became alienated and dissipated.§ In order to prevent this, and to discountenance the marriage of the clergy, such laws were passed as that no son of a priest, deacon, or sub-deacon should be ordained to the clerical office.|| The pious Adalbero of Metz considered it unjust, however, to expose the sons of the clergy to a disgrace not incurred by any fault of their own, as with God there was no

* Vid. Rather. *synodica ad presbyteros*, f. 377 and 378. D'Achery l. c. In order to accustom his clergy to do without the common game of dice, the archbishop Wibold of Cambray invented for his diocese an ingenious game of dice, with stones named after the Christian virtues, clericis alex amatoribus regularem ludum artificiose composuit, quo in scholis se exercentes sæcularem et jurgiosam aleam refugerent. See Balderick's *Chronicle of Cambray*, l. i. c. 88.

† In Normandy the marriage of bishops was, in truth, a common thing: *Sacerdotes ac summi pontifices libere conjugata et arma portantes ut laici erant*. See the Life of Herluin, abbot of Bec, in the eleventh century. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. VI. P. II. f. 344*.

‡ See D'Achery, l. c. f. 371: *Quia prohiberi a mulieribus nullo modo valetis*, says he to his clergy.

§ *Unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiæ vastantur, pauperes tribulantur*. D'Achery, l. c. f. 439.

|| See the council of Bourges, Bituricense a 1031, c. 11.

respect of persons, and he who feared God and wrought righteousness, was accepted of him.*

The efforts directed against the licentiousness of the clergy by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,† by Ratherius of Verona, and by Atto of Vercelli, in the tenth century, grew out of the same wants, and had the same tendency, with the great plan of reformation constituting the epoch of Hildebrand. The effort to reclaim the clergy to a mode of life better becoming their sacred vocation, went hand in hand with the effort to procure obedience to the laws of celibacy. It was the struggle to support culture against barbarism, the dignity of the priesthood against its desecration; and as the requisition of celibacy was closely connected with the prevailing conception of the idea of the priesthood, hence but few could defend, with a purely Christian interest and on principle, the marriage of the clergy; though this may have been done, perhaps, by the Scottish clergy, who had inherited from their ancestors a more liberal spirit, and who were challenged by the opponents of the strict church discipline of archbishop Dunstan,‡ to defend their cause; and though it must have been done by Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, in the ninth century, if we may consider as genuine the letter to pope Nicholas I., which is ascribed to a person of that name.§ Archbishop Dunstan, by

* The abbot Adalbero's contemporary, who wrote his life, says in relation to this: *Episcopi sui temporis aliqui fastu superbiæ, aliqui simplicitate cordis filios sacerdotum ad sacros ordines admittere dedignabantur.* Labbe, *Bibliothec. Ms. T. I. f. 677.*

† Comp. respecting him, the admirable exposition in Lappenberg's *History of England*, Bd. I. p. 400, etc.

‡ See Osborn, *Life of Dunstan*, l. I. c. 8. s. 47, at the 19th of May.

§ This tract (published by Martene and Durand, in the collectio amplissima, T. I. f. 449.) bears altogether the stamp of a party opposed to the Hildebrandian plan of reform, a party which, no doubt, took the liberty to forge records against the law of celibacy, like the above cited (p. 54) decrees of the council of Tribur; and most probably this letter is to be referred to this last Hildebrandian epoch. In this tract, the arguments derived from the Old and New Testaments are arrayed against the law of celibacy, which arguments (see above, p. 54) were adduced by the defenders of priestly marriage in the age of Hildebrand. The author points to the melancholy consequences arising from forced celibacy. He by no means absolutely rejects the celibacy of the clergy; but is of the opinion that the pope should simply exhort to the observance of celibacy, not lay down a common law for all. He should leave it free for each individual to take upon himself the vow of celibacy or not,

a firmness of will and energy of character, before which even the secular power submissively bowed, was enabled to carry his point in the English church; but bishop Ratherius, under less favourable circumstances, addressing himself to the work with less coolness and wisdom, and hurried by his pious zeal into the indulgence of passion, proved inferior to the task of contending successfully with a barbarized clergy. So much the more was he reproached with his devotion to books, a habit so utterly repugnant to the tastes and inclinations of such a clergy.* When he was intending to resume the oversight over the management of the church property, with a view to check the arbitrary proceedings which had come to his notice, the clergy, who had no wish to surrender their independence in this respect, affected the utmost concern lest their bishop should forfeit something of his dignity. "It is beneath the dignity of the bishops," said they, "to measure out corn and wine, and to distribute the avails to the clergy." To this Ratherius replied: "It is very true, that the bishops might commit such business to presbyters and deacons, could they find any that might be trusted; but when a bishop is necessitated to do this by his own hands, no feeling of pride should deter him, for with such a course He is by no means displeased, who said: 'He who would be greatest among you let him be your minister.'"[†]

Though in the preceding period many laws had been passed

as he pleased, and he should have no authority to require the observance of such a vow, except from those who had voluntarily undertaken it. Christ says, *Qui potest capere, capiat. Isti nescio unde instigati dicunt: Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate.* Many suffered themselves to be misled, by the one-sided interest of their hierarchical standing ground, to say it was better for the clergy to maintain unlawful connections, provided they were unknown to the laity, than to confess before the laity to a regular marriage. Against such sentiments the interest of Christian morality here beautifully expresses itself: *Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo vel in illo essent, qui dicit per prophetam; vae vobis Pharisei qui omnia propter homines facitis. Matth. xxiii. 5. Præposterii, homines, qui nobis prius deberent persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cujus nuda omnia et aperta sunt conspectui, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum homines esse.*

* They said of him, as D'Achery cites: *Solus si liceret tota die sederet, libros versaret vel reversaret. Vid. qualitatis conjectura in D'Achery, f. 359.*

† † L. c. f. 347 beginning.

against the abuse of the practice of absolute ordinations,* and against the evils arising from a vagrant clergy (*clericos vagos et acephalos*) who made themselves independent of the oversight of the bishops; yet in the ninth century these abuses reached their highest pitch, and so long as simony prevailed in the church, neither could this evil be repressed. An Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, had surely good cause to be zealous for the dignity of the spiritual order and calling, and to lament over its degradation, when many of the nobles procured the most unsuitable men, sometimes their own slaves, to be ordained as priests, and employed these, their own bondsmen, sometimes mechanically to perform the rites of worship in the chapels of their castles, sometimes to discharge at the same time the most menial services, to feed their hounds, and to wait upon their tables.† The bishops assembled at Pavia,‡ in the year 853, who by the invitation of the emperor Lewis came together to deliberate on the best means for reforming the church, complained that the multiplication of chapels in castles contributed greatly to the decline of the parochial worship and to the neglect of preaching, the nobles being satisfied with the mechanical performance of mass by their priests, and taking no further concern in the public worship of God;§ whence it happened that the parish churches were frequented only by the poor, while the rich and noble had no opportunity of hearing sermons calculated to recall their thoughts from the earthly concerns in which they were absorbed, and to

* The ordinationes absolutæ. See Vol. III. p. 115.

† See Agobard's book, *De privilegio et jure sacerdotii*, which book, taking for its point of departure the then existing notion of the priesthood, was opposed to this degradation of it, c. 11., *Fœditas nostri temporis omni lachrymarum fonte ploranda, quando increbuit consuetudo impia, ut pæne nullus inveniatur quantulumcunque proficiens ad honores et gloriam temporalem, qui non domesticum habeat sacerdotem, non cui obediat, sed a quo incessanter exigat licitam simul atque illicitam obedientiam, ita ut plerique inveniantur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos, quibus feminae sedent, regant aut agellos provideant.* The contemptuous words are quoted, with which a person of this class applied for the ordination of one of his servants: *Habeo unum clericionem, quem mihi nutrivì de servis meis, volo ut ordines eum mihi presbyterum.*

‡ Ticinum.

§ Agobard: *Tantum, ut habeant presbyteros proprios, quorum occasione deserant ecclesias seniores et officia publica.*

remind them of the oppressions suffered by the poor.* The council of Pavia also, in the year 850, issued a canon† against those vagrant clergy (*clerici acephali*). It was indeed a praiseworthy thing, the council declared, that the laity should be desirous of having the mass celebrated continually in their houses; but they should employ for this purpose none but ecclesiastics duly approved by the bishops.‡ The people were warned against ecclesiastics and monks roving about from one district to another, who disseminated many errors.§

The abuse of the right of patronage, which we already noticed as existing in the preceding period, made continual and rapid strides also amid the confusions of the ninth and tenth centuries; so that the descendants of church-founders carried on a certain traffic with the churches,|| or exercised an oppressive lordship, with arbitrary extortions, over the parish priests appointed over the churches built by their ancestors.¶ To put a stop to the arbitrary exercise of the right of patronage, the council of Seligenstadt** in 1020, decreed, that no layman should confer a church on a priest without the con-

* *Quidam laici et maxime potentes ac nobiles, quos studiosius ad prædicationem venire oportebat, juxta domos suas basilicas habent, in quibus divinum audientes officium ad majores ecclesias rarius venire consueverunt. Et dum soli afflicti et pauperes veniunt, quid aliud, quam ut mala patientur ferant, illis prædicandum est? Si autem divites, qui pauperibus injuriam facere soliti sunt, venire non renuerint, admoneri utique possent, ut eleemosynis peccata sua redimerent, ut a fluxu rerum temporalium se abstinerent. Admonendi sunt igitur potentes, ut ad majores ecclesias, ubi prædicationem audire possunt, conveniant, et quantum dono omnipotentis Dei divitiis et honoribus cæteros antecedunt, tanto ad audienda præcepta conditoris sui alacrius festinent.* Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 98.

† C. 18.

‡ C. 23.

§ In the Life of Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, it is stated (c. 4, s. 26); *Illos, qui vel monachico vel canonico vel etiam Græco habitu per regiones et regna discurrunt, prorsus execrabatur.*

|| As Agobard complains, *De dispensatione rerum ecclesiasticarum*, c. 15.

¶ See the work of bishop Jonas of Orleans: *De Institutione laicali*, l. II. c. 18. *D'Achery Spicil. T. II. f. 293.* *Solent dicere; ille presbyter multa de mea acquirit ecclesia, quapropter volo, ut de eo, quod de mea acquirit, ad votum meum mihi serviat, sin alias meam ultra non habebit ecclesiam.*

** C. 13.

currence of the bishop, who, or his representative, must first examine and ascertain whether the candidate were of such an age, and of such manners and knowledge, as that a community could be safely committed to his care.

In general, the contemplation of ecclesiastical relations in this period teaches us, that the multitude of abuses in them was well calculated to elicit the plan for a thorough reformation, such as was proposed on the basis of their own papistico-theoretical system by the Hildebrandian party.

Having thus considered the constitution of the clergy, we now proceed to the constitution of the monastic life, which in the church history of the middle ages must from the present time become for us a special object of attention.

3. THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Monachism, which in the beginning, by its austerity of life and zealous activity in the service of God, had presented a marked contrast to the corruption which prevailed among the clergy, was finally drawn itself also into the current of barbarism. The rich possessions which they owed to the deprivations and toils of their original founders, brought corruption into the monasteries. The austere virtues of the monks, that had sprung up and thrived in poverty and in want, perished in the midst of abundance; besides, the wealth of the monasteries excited the covetous longings of noble laymen and worldly-minded ecclesiastics,* who contrived to get possession of them, and then disposed of their funds according to their pleasure. At the same time, however, the degeneracy of monachism operated to call forth new attempts at reformation and new efforts to restore the ancient severity—as indeed had often happened before in earlier times.

Such a reformer of the monastic life was the Abbot Benedict of Aniane, in the first half of the ninth century. He sprang from a respectable family in Languedoc, not far from Montpellier, where he was born about the year 750. He served

* The abbot Benedict of Aniane, presently to be mentioned, was obliged to complain before the emperor Lewis the Pious, *monasteria fugatis monachis a secularibus obtineri clericis*. See the Life of Benedict, by his scholar Ardo, at the 12th February, c. 9.

first in the court of king Pipin, and next in that of his successor, Charlemagne. Disgusted, while yet a youth, with the life at court and in the world, he resolved to forsake it, and to begin a life of entire consecration to God. The only difficulty now remaining in his mind was to determine what mode of life he should pursue, whether to travel as a pilgrim, or, in partnership with another, to pasture for nothing the flocks of the people; or whether to plant himself down in some city as a shoemaker, and distribute the avails of his labour in alms to the poor. He finally decided in favour of the monastic life; and his deliverance in a case where his life was endangered, hastened him in the execution of his plan. In the year 774, when diving into a well to rescue a drowning brother, he came near losing his own life; but having saved his brother and escaped himself, he made a vow thenceforth to renounce the world. Become a monk, he disciplined himself by the most rigid austerities. The rule of Benedict itself seemed to him too lax in its requisitions—to be suited only for beginners and weaklings; he aspired rather after that higher ideal of monachism presented in the ancient rules of the East. He soon found, however, that those oriental rules were not calculated for these districts and men, while the Benedictine rule was better suited to form the many for the spiritual life, and proposed a mark which could more certainly be reached under the given circumstances; and he now made it his object to reform the degenerate monasticism of his age according to the model of this ancient rule of the West. He was joined by continually increasing numbers, who caught his own enthusiasm for the old monastic life; and at Aniane, in Languedoc, he founded the first famous monastery answering to his idea, whence as a centre his activity as a reformer extended in a continually widening compass. By him the monks were brought back again both to habits of industry and to zeal for doing good with their earnings. In a time of severe famine he assembled multitudes of the starving poor around the monastery. Their haggard looks moved his compassion, and he would fain have helped them all, but was at a loss where to find means of sustenance sufficient for so many. Trusting in God he cheerfully went to work.* He first directed so much of

* *Quia nihil deest timentibus Deum*, says his biographer of him.

the grain in store to be laid aside as would be required to support the monks until the next harvest, and then all the rest to be daily distributed, by monks appointed for that purpose, among the poor. Also meat and milk were dealt out to them daily, and the poor that flocked hither from all quarters built themselves huts around the monastery, intending to reside there until the next harvest. Thrice when the store of grain set apart for the poor was found to be exhausted, he allowed a portion to be taken from that reserved for the monks. Such was the influence of his example, that every one of the monks spared all he could from his own rations of food, and conveyed it secretly to these poor people. At the same time he made the monasteries seats of religious culture and study, to promote which he collected together a library in his convent.* Among the marks of the genuinely Christian spirit which governed him, we may observe, that when bondsmen were given to the monastery, he declined to receive them, but demanded their manumission.† After many convents had already been reformed by the efforts of this abbot, the emperor Lewis the Pious, who had a high respect for him, placed all the West-Frank monasteries under his supervision; and at the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 817, he published a monastic rule, drawn up by himself after the model of the Benedictine rule, for all the monasteries of the Frank empire.

Though Benedict set an example to his monks of strict self-control, and laboured earnestly to form them to it, still an outward asceticism was not to him the highest of all aims. He not only confessed, but showed by his conduct and teaching, that humility and love constitute the essence of the Christian life. "Chastity without humility," he was accustomed to say, "is not acceptable to God."‡ Thus he laboured till he was

* See his *Life*, c. 5. s. 25: *Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos, et scientia scripturarum peritos, librorum multitudinem congregavit.*

† *L. c. c. 3. s. 13.* Si quis de possessionibus aliquid conferre monasterio vellet, suscipiebat. Si vero servos ancillasque copulari niteretur, refugiebat, nec passus est quemquam per idem tempus per chartam monasterio tradi, sed ut fierent liberi imperabat.

‡ *Esto casto corpore et humilis corde, quoniam Deo accepta non est superba castitas aut humilitas inquinata*, and to many he was wont to say, "If it seem to you impossible to observe many commandments, then

seventy years old. The day before his death, which happened on the 11th of February, 821, he took leave of his monks in a short letter of exhortation,* and also of Nebridius, archbishop of Lyons. To the latter he writes: "Know, dearest father, that I am in my last struggle; I hasten to the end; already my soul is parting from the body, and in this life I can never hope to see you again with the eye of sense. May He, who is able to make a clean thing out of an unclean, a righteous man out of a sinner, grant to us that we may together attain to the blessedness of the everlasting kingdom, there to sing a new song with all the saints."† While engaged, on the morning of the 12th of February, in repeating the church breviary, he felt his powers fail, and exclaiming, "I can go no further," he added, "Lord, deal with thy servant according to thy mercy," breathing out his spirit in prayer.

This reformer of monachism left behind him, then, the first example of a larger society, uniting together many monks in several monasteries under one common head. But this single experiment was still insufficient to stay the destruction which, in these times, was seizing monachism no less than the clergy; the monasteries fell a prey to worldly-minded bishops and greedy barons, and, in the absence of spiritual oversight, discipline among the monks became relaxed. Thus we find a synod at Trosley, in the year 909, lamenting over the universal decay of monachism, now fallen into contempt with the laity;‡ and they traced it to the circumstance that nearly all the Frank monasteries were then in the hands of lay-abbots.

keep only this one little commandment—Depart from evil and do good." Ps. xxxvii. 27. See s. 30 according to the edition of Mabillon, Sæc. IV. P. I. This belongs to the portion which is wanting in the Bollandist edition.

* He wrote to these: In ultimis constitutus ignoro, utrum jam vos videre queam. Nostis, qualiter totis, quantum valui, nisibus, quamdiu potui, vitæ exhortationis exempla monstravi sollicitus vestrum.

† Ille qui potest facere de immundo mundum, de peccatore justum, de impio castum, faciat nos pariter regno perfrui sempiterno ibique cum omnibus sanctis cantare canticum novum.

‡ The synod says of the monks, who were forced even by the want of the means of sustenance, as no one provided for them, to wander from one place to another (c. 3): Quia non solum a vulgo nullo distare videntur vitæ merito; sed etiam propter infima, quæ sectantur opera, despectionis expositi sunt ludibrio.

This corruption of monachism would necessarily awaken the effort after a new and thorough-going reformation in all such as sought, in the monastic life, a refuge from the world, a school for the cultivation of the spiritual life, and habits of rigid self-discipline.

Such an institution was founded by count Berno, of Burgundy, who, dissatisfied with the effeminacy of the majority of the monks of his time, sought to restore, in a number of monasteries, the ancient severity. He died in the year 927. Still more conspicuous was his successor Odo. He was the son of a man of rank, who, by a singular departure from the habits of the noble laity of his times, had given himself to studies, and was also distinguished for his piety. He dedicated his son, born in the year 879, to St. Martin, and the remembrance of this dedication produced afterwards a deep impression on the mind of the young man. In the service of a prince, in the occupations of the chase, and amid other amusements of the knightly order, he had forgotten the books, a relish for which had been given him by his education, and he had been led away from the devotional bent received by him in childhood; but the deeply-impressed images of his earlier years made their power felt in his soul. In frightful dreams he heard himself accused for these frivolous pursuits; he felt dissatisfied with his present occupations, and could not repress the longing after a higher life.* A disorder which seemed incurable, long-continued, and violent turns of head-ache induced him to seek relief of St. Martin, and at the age of nineteen he joined the foundation of the canonical priests of St. Martin, to whom his childhood was dedicated, at Tours. He afterwards became eminent for his piety and knowledge, awakened many from a worldly life to penitence, and became their guide in the spiritual life. Long had he travelled in vain through France, with one of his disciples, in quest of a monastery suited to his wishes, until they heard of the convent founded by Berno at Cluny in Burgundy, and here he found all that he desired. His attainments in knowledge were

* Odo stated to the monk Johannes, who wrote his life, what he experienced at that time: *Quanto amplius me ingerebam hujusmodi lusibus, tanto rediebam merens sine omni effectu et fatigatione confossus.* L. I. s. 8, in Mabillon, *Sæc. V.*, and in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*.

here brought to a good account, and the school was placed under his direction. Berno bequeathed to him, by will, the oversight of the greatest portion of the monasteries founded or reformed by him; and the abbey of Cluny, in particular, was made the seat from which a new reformation of monachism proceeded. Odo was a man, as his writings testify, and as we shall more fully show when we come to speak of his character in the history of Christian life, deeply penetrated with the consciousness of the corruption of the church among clergy, monks, and laity—a man full of zeal for the renovation of the Christian life; while at the same time he was very far from placing the essence of Christian perfection in a rigid practice of asceticism, though he endeavoured to oppose the severity of monachism to the secularized life of the clergy and monks of his time, and to awaken an enthusiasm in its favour.* As contrasted with this prevailing corruption, the example of his pious zeal and of his severity of life was so much the more powerful, and he acquired great authority. The pope sent for him to come to Rome for the purpose of restoring peace between princes, and he was frequently invited by the nobles to reform monasteries.

At his death, in 942, he left behind him a worthy successor in the abbot Aymar, and this new association of monks continually acquired greater influence in producing a reformation of monachism.† More conspicuous still was his successor, the abbot Majolus. When amid the disturbances in Rome, by which the papal dignity was so deeply degraded, application was made to the young emperor Otho II., in 975, to secure the election of a suitable pope, this prince called the abbot Majolus to Germany for the purpose of consulting him on the subject; and by the most influential men around the emperor's person Majolus himself was demanded for the office: the latter, however, did not consider himself competent to ma-

* In his *Collationes*, l. II. c. 6. f. 191, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, he says, *Ipsi per quos sæculares corrigi debuerant, eos ad contemptum mandatorum Dei per sua mala exempla instigant.*

† In the *Life of abbot Majolus*, by his scholar Nalgod, it is said concerning the monastery of Cluny, under abbot Aymar (c. l. s. 10): *Virtus monasticæ professionis, quæ in negligentiam tota deciderat, et in ecclesiis Gallicanis præcipue frigescebat, sic per eos est ad suum reformatam principium, ut fere totus orbis religionis inde et ordinis veritatem se gaudeat consequutum.*

nage the multitude of secular affairs in Rome, and preferred his allotted calling.* He was followed by the abbot Odilo, who obtained deserved praise on account of his charitable works, especially among the poor people, during a severe famine in France. After all the granaries and magazines of the monasteries had been emptied, he ordered the precious ecclesiastical vessels to be melted up, and sold the ornaments of the church to alleviate the extreme distress;† and it was he, too, by whose influence the truce of God, already mentioned, was instituted. Another influential man, abbot Hugo, the friend of Hildebrand, concludes the series of the presidents of this association of monks during the present period, and his activity extended into the next period. By means of these societies, growing out of the reformation of monachism, a new impulse was given to the zeal in favour of this mode of life, and such a union of the scattered monasteries under one head would gradually prepare them for being made still more independent of the bishops.

Many examples in the ancient church showed that where the moral corruption was most excessive, appeared also the worst extravagances of a fanatical monkish asceticism, called forth in antagonism to such corruption. So it was in the eleventh century in Italy. Eremites planted themselves in the forests, where, in imitation of the Eastern monks, they inured themselves to the severest deprivations, favoured by the climate, which made such deprivations more practicable here than in other countries. Their simple habits of life often enabled them to reach a good old age, sometimes more than a hundred years.‡ The contrast which they presented to the moral corruption in the spiritual and secular orders, procured for them so much the greater and more universal respect. Disciples in vast numbers collected around them; and, availing themselves of the respect still paid to religion by the rude and depraved, and of the veneration in which they were held them-

* In the above cited Life, s. 29, at the 11th of May, it is stated that Majolus, when this proposal was made to him, consulted the New Testament for a divine oracle, and first opening upon the text Coloss. ii. 8, he looked upon this as a warning, that he ought to regard the proposal as a temptation to be avoided.

† See his Life by Damiani, c. 2.

‡ Damiani Opusc. 61, ad Penzonem.

selves, they often had it in their power to reach the consciences of the proud knights and barons, who feared nothing else. To this class belonged Romuald, sprung from the stock of the dukes of Ravenna. Of him it was said, by one of the mighty lords of the earth, that "No look of an emperor, nor of any other mortal, filled him with such terror as the look of Romuald: he was at a loss what to say or how to excuse himself." * His rebukes procured redress for many under oppression. Those who trembled in fear of the vengeance of their rulers, were shielded by his potent intercessions, which even the emperor Otho III. treated with respect. From his own lips, along with many other sayings which betray a fanatical, ascetic, and morose view of life, we have also this better word: "A single hymn, sung from the heart and with true contrition, is better than a hundred sung with a wandering mind. Let only the bent and disposition of the heart be right, † and no fears are to be apprehended from involuntary thoughts." ‡ He settled in different countries, because the multitude of disciples brought around him by the flood of corruption in Italy, forced him to leave the growing numbers, when too great for his own management, under the direction of priors, and seek elsewhere another solitude. § But especially renowned was the assemblage of hermitages founded by him at Camaldoli, || in the Florentine province, a short day's journey from the city of Arezzo. It was from this establishment the whole society derived its name, Camaldulensians. Romuald died in the year 1027, a hundred and twenty years old. ¶

Furthermore, in the age of the Hildebrandian reformation of the church, in a valley of the Apennines, called Vallombrosa, distant half a day's journey from Florence, began to flourish the congregation of Vallombrosa, under the abbot John, a society which took a zealous part in contending against the corruptions of the clergy.

Distinguished, also, among the reformers of monachism, in the first half of the eleventh century, by his activity and influence, was the abbot William, from the congregation of Cluny,

* See Damiani's Life of Romuald, s. 66.

† The intentio recta.

§ L. c. s. 75.

¶ Damiani wrote his Life fifteen years after he left the world.

‡ Vid. vita, l. c. s. 16.

|| Campus Maldoli.

head over the monastery of Benignus, near Dijon,* who had forty convents under his supervision. As there was a great want, at that time, of schools for the people, he founded a number of such schools, and placed them under the direction of monks. In these schools gratuitous instruction was given in reading and in church music. All who wished, bond and free, poor and rich, were admitted to them, and the poor were besides furnished with the means of sustenance.†

Another eminent abbot of this century, Gervin, head of a monastery at Centulum,‡ laboured earnestly to supply the religious wants of the people, neglected by their worldly-minded clergy, and their bishop, Fulco of Amiens, who cared more for the chase than for the souls of his flock. This abbot had a cell devoted to the express purpose of receiving all who were disposed to come to him, to confess their sins, and seek counsel with regard to the state of their souls. Here he prayed with them. The multitude of the going and coming sometimes left him scarcely time enough in the whole day to take food. To promote the same object, he travelled over France, thus taking up the cause of the forsaken people. But the clergy, who were not disposed to fulfil the duties which devolved on them, became jealous of his influence, and instituted against him the complaint, that, intruding into other men's fields of labour, he presumed to exercise the office of preacher and pastor, without being a bishop, or having received full powers for so doing from the pope.§ The complaint came to Rome, but the abbot succeeded in clearing up his conduct before the pope, and the full powers were granted him which he before wanted. ||

Amid the general darkness in Italy, in the tenth century, a monk of Greek origin acquired for himself a great influence, which he faithfully turned to the advantage of both Greeks and Latins. This was Nilus (the Younger), born at Rossano, ¶

* Gulielmus Divionensis.

† Acta S. Bolland. I. Januar. Vita, c. 6. Januar. T. I. f. 61.

‡ St. Ricquier, in the department of Somme.

§ The writer of his Life says, Non considerantes, quia lege non stringitur Sancti Spiritus donum.

|| See in the Actis Sanctor. III. March, or Mabillon, Sæc. VI. Pt. II. f. 330.

¶ Πουσιανον.

in Calabria, and founder of several monasteries in Italy. His pious parents had dedicated him from his birth to the sole service of God, and they educated him in conformity to this destination. From his childhood and onward, he read the accounts of the lives of the old venerated monks, Anthony, Hilarion, and others. Thus was awakened in him a spirit of piety, which led him in early life to keep aloof from the corruption of morals in the houses of the great, while he scorned the amulets, the forms of incantation, and other kindred superstitions so universally prevalent in those times.* He had to pass through many inward conflicts, which left behind them a rich harvest of spiritual experiences. He learnt in his own soul how easily fanaticism may grow out of spiritual pride. While engaged in prayer, or in singing, the thought often occurred to him: "Look towards the altar, perhaps thou wilt behold there an angel, or a flame of fire, or the Holy Ghost, for such sights many others have seen." But to avoid these tempting thoughts he shut his eyes, and gave himself up the more to penitential feelings. He wrestled with himself till the sweat trickled from his forehead.† On one occasion, finding it impossible to get rid of a temptation that troubled him in a sensuous form, he threw himself with contrition to the ground, and, addressing the Saviour, said, "Lord, thou knowest that I am weak, have compassion on me, and ease me of my conflict." Thus lying on the earth he fell asleep, when in a dream he saw before him a crucifix, and prayed—"Have pity on me, Lord, and bless thy servant." Then Christ, standing at his right hand, made over him thrice the sign of the cross. The vision vanished, and with it he was delivered from all his conflicts; and he saw clearly that, by humiliation of heart before God, and coming to the knowledge of his own weakness, he had attained a condition which he could not have reached by much fasting and many vigils. Being entreated to heal a demoniac, he declared he was quite willing it should be believed he had never prayed to God to bestow on him the gift of healing the sick, or of casting out

* "Ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ μισοπόνηρον καὶ ἀποστρεφίσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν ἀρχόντων διατριβάς, μισεῖν τε καὶ ἀποδεδιύττεσθαι πᾶσαν περιεργίαν καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτὰ καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἑξορκισμοὺς καὶ τοίγχε οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπορήσας βιβλίαν. Acta Sanctor. XXVI. Septemb. s. 2.

† L. c. s. 19.

evil spirits, would God but grant him the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from wicked thoughts. He endeavoured to comfort the father, who presented this request on behalf of his son, by his representing to him that this kind of possession by one evil spirit, was a far less evil than the readiness to serve them all, expressed in a wicked life. "Thy son," said he, "has but *one* evil spirit, and *this* involuntarily; perhaps this very thing will result in his soul's salvation." He was not seldom visited by eminent men of the secular and spiritual orders, who had various questions to propose to him. He never failed to make the most of such opportunities to bring home the claims of Christianity on the heart and life, to warn against the false confidence in a dead faith, or any form of outward works, and to lead away the frivolous mind from curious questions to the one thing needful. It was on some such occasion as this that he gave to an officer of the imperial household (Domesticus) the Life of Monk Simeon, in which he had marked a certain passage where it was affirmed that scarcely one out of ten thousand souls attained to salvation. The Domesticus having read it, all exclaimed, with one voice—"God forbid; whoever says that is a heretic. If that be so, we have all been baptized in vain; in vain we adore the cross; in vain we partake of the eucharist; in vain we call ourselves Christians." Upon this he mildly remarked: "Suppose I should prove to you that Basil, Chrysostom, Theodorus Studita, the apostle Paul, and the Gospel, all express the same thing, what would *you* say, who, by reason of your own wicked lives, pronounce what holy men have said, heretical? But I tell you, that by every particular you have just enumerated, you gain nothing in the sight of God. Be persuaded, that unless you become virtuous, and truly virtuous, no one of you can be saved from punishment."* Then all sighing, exclaimed: "Wo unto us, sinners!" Nicholas, the protospatharius (captain of the emperor's guard), a man who trusted in his almsgiving, now spoke: "Yet Christ said, He who gives the poor but a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward." To this he replied: "That was said to the poor,

* Λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ὧν ἐψηφίσασθε οὐδεμία ὑμῖν χάρις παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Πληροφωρήθητε, ὅτι ἂν μὴ ἐνάρετοι γίνησθε καὶ σφόδρα ἐνάρετοι, οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἔξαιρήσεται τῆς κολάσεως.

that none might offer as an excuse his having no wood wherewith to prepare warm water. But what will *you* do, who rob the poor even of the cup of cold water?" Then one of the nobles, a man of immoral life, appealed to the example of Solomon, so approved in the Bible. He would like to know, he said, whether the wonderful Solomon was not saved? To this Nilus replied: "What concern of ours is it to know whether Solomon was saved or lost; not to him, but to us, it is said, that whoever looks at a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery in his heart with her already. But of Solomon we do not read, as we do of Manasseh, that, after having sinned, he repented." Here one of the priests asked, What was the forbidden fruit in paradise? He answered, "A crab-apple." All laughed; and he added—"Such a question deserved such an answer. Moses did not give the name of that fruit, and why would we know what Moses has concealed from us? You ask not how you are formed; how, like Adam, you were placed in paradise, and what commands you received and transgressed; why you were expelled from paradise, or rather from God's kingdom, and how you may once more rise to your former dignity; but you ask me after the name of a tree, where one is just as good as another." The wife of a prince, Pandulf of Capua,* had procured the murder of a powerful count, for which she was afterwards tormented with remorse. She had sought relief from her bishops, who had prescribed to her, as a penance, to repeat the Psalter thrice a week, and give alms; but failing still to find peace of conscience, she applied to the venerated Nilus. He was very far from making so light a matter of it.† By his intercessions, he was the means of saving whole cities; often, to save some persecuted person, he undertook long journeys on foot, during violent rains and in the roughest weather, arriving at his journey's end wet to the skin and with stiffened limbs.‡

When his countryman Philagothus, or John, archbishop of

* Vid. l. c. c. 12.

† The scholar, who wrote his life, says of his labours (s. 84): He delivered many from evil spirits, but more from impure passions and sinful habits; and the latter work was greater than the former.

‡ He wrote many letters on the subject of such intercessions. which, if they could be recovered, would throw great light on his labours, his character, and the ecclesiastical and political circumstances of his times.

Placenza, who was too much inclined to intermeddle in politics, got entangled in an alliançe with the Roman usurper Crescentius, who, after expelling Gregory V. set him up as pope in Rome, Nilus warned him by letter of the consequences of his ambition, and called upon him to renounce the worldly honours which he had enjoyed to superfluity, and to retire from the world. But his words found no hearing. In the year 998 Gregory was restored to his place by the arms of the emperor Otho III., and cruel revenge taken on the archbishop. His eyes were first put out, his tongue and his nose cut off, and then he was thrown into a dungeon.*

When Nilus, who was now eighty-eight years old, heard of this at his monastery near Gaeta, forgetting that he was sick and infirm, forgetting that it was the season of Lent, when he was most loth to be disturbed in his penitential and devotional exercises, he repaired immediately to Rome. He requested the emperor to put him with the archbishop, that he might live with him thenceforth, and that they might do penance together for their sins. The emperor promised to comply with his request; but instead of this, the archbishop was soon after exposed to new and more public ignominy. Nilus then declared to the pope and the emperor that they had not offended him, but God. From love to God they had promised to pardon the unfortunate man; but as they had shown no mercy to the poor being whom the heavenly Father had put into their hands, neither could they expect any mercy from the heavenly Father for their own sins. The young emperor, who was flattered by his teacher Gerbert, was compelled to hear the voice of truth from the poor monk. When the emperor afterwards invited him to ask for any favour he pleased, he is said to have answered: "I have nothing to ask of you but the salvation of your own soul; for though you are emperor, yet you must die like other men. You will appear before the judgment-seat of God, where you must give up an account of all your deeds,

* The writer of Nilus' Life charges this cruelty on the pope and the emperor! while Ditmar of Merseburg, in Leibnitz, *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicens. T. I. f. 354*, attributes it to the *fidelibus Christi et Cæsaris*; which, to be sure, may be considered as applying to the same persons; and even the biographer of Nilus gives it to be understood that the whole had not, properly speaking, been done according to the will of the emperor, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθῶς τὸ πᾶν τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλῆς.

good and bad.”* It is reported that the emperor, upon this, bursting into tears, took the crown from his head, and begged the man of God to give him his blessing, which he did.

When Nilus heard that the governor of Gaeta intended to bring his body into the city and give it a public burial, in order that the bones of the saint might serve as a protection for the town, his humility was revolted at the prospect of one day receiving such veneration as was then paid to saints. He preferred that no one should know where he was buried.† He mounted his horse and turned his face towards Rome, saying to his monks, as he took leave of them, “Sorrow not. I go to prepare a place and a monastery, where I will assemble all the brethren, and all my scattered children,” probably meaning heaven. On arriving at Tusculum (Frascati), he rode into a small convent of St. Agatha, saying, “Here is my resting-place for ever.” He was requested by many friends and by nobles in Rome to come there, at least to perform his devotions at the tombs of the two first apostles; but he would not again leave this place of his last repose, saying, “He who has faith like a grain of mustard-seed, may from this spot also adore the apostles.” He begged the monks‡ that after his death his burial might not be delayed; that they would not bury him in a church, nor build an arch or any other monument over his grave: but if they wished to set up some mark in order to distinguish his grave, he requested that it might be a resting-place for pilgrims, for he also had constantly lived as a wayfarer. He died, in 1005, a tranquil, easy death, corresponding to his life.§ Pupils and disciples of Nilus continued

* L. c. c. 13.

† His biographer says of him: Ὑπερέβλλον πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ἀνθρώπους, ὧν τε σημεῖα ποιήσῃ, ἂν τε μή.

‡ Μήτε ἐν οὐκᾷ κυριακῇ καταθῇ, μηδὲ θελήσῃ ποιῆσαι καμάραν ἐπάνω μου ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ κόσμον οἷον δῆποτε. Εἰ δὲ ὅλως βούλεσθε ποιῆσαί τι σημεῖον διὰ τὸ γνωρίζειν, ποῦ τεθείκατέ με, ὁμαλὸν ἔστω ἐπάνωθεν, ἵνα οἱ ξένοι ἐκεῖ ἐπαναπαύωνται· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ξένος ἐγενόμην πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου.

§ For two days he was seen lying asleep; during which time, no other signs of life were observed in him than a slight motion of the lips, and of his hands making the sign of the cross. One of the monks, on holding his ear to his mouth, heard him repeat the following words: “Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy commandments.” Gregorius, governor of Frascati, a hard-tempered man, on

to labour in these districts, as, for example, the already mentioned Bartholomew, abbot of Grotta Ferrata.*.

learning this, hastened to the convent with his physician. Kissing his hands, he moistened them with tears, saying, "Alas! why dost thou leave us so soon? Behold! thou no longer holdest out thy hand for me to kiss, as thou wert wont, saying, 'I am no bishop, no priest, no deacon, only a poor old man; why do you want to kiss my hand?'" L. c. c. 14.

* See above, p. 43.

SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

WE find still existing in the ninth century the later effects of those plans and operations instituted during the Carolingian age for the promotion of the general religious instruction and Christian culture of the people; but the seed thus scattered was hindered from springing up by the political distractions immediately following upon that age. The synods of the ninth century were very decided in resolving that the increase and prosperity of Christianity depended in great part on the right discharge of the predicatorial office; but they must have been aware also how little could be expected in this way, from the major part of the clergy of these times; and hence they would naturally be led to insist on the necessity of establishing special schools for the education of religious teachers. The council of Mentz, in 847, decreed * that the bishops should do such preaching as was necessary for the instruction of the communities. They were to expound the catholic faith in such a way as should be adapted to the comprehension of the people; they were to treat of the eternal rewards of the righteous, and of the everlasting punishment of the wicked, of the resurrection, the final judgment, of the works by which men might become partakers of, and by which they would be excluded from, eternal life; and in order that these discourses might be understood by all, each bishop should translate them into the Roman or German dialect of the country.† During these times appeared, probably as a *German preacher*, the monk Otfried, from the monastery of Weissenburg in the Elsass, a man who distinguished himself by his efforts to

* C. 2.

† Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quæ dicuntur.

christianize the popular literature.* He wrote a *poetical* paraphrase of the gospels, with a view to make the people familiar with God's word in the German tongue. It was his wish, he said, that the praise of Christ might be sung in German,† that the Franks might learn to sing by heart what the Bible taught, and also be constantly reminded to reduce it to practice. He thought it a shame that the Franks, a people not inferior in other respects to the Greeks and Romans, a people who had conquered so many nations, should not possess God's word in their own language. He described it as the peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of his people, that they began everything with God, that they would never engage in an enterprise without consulting Him.‡ The words of Christ and of his disciples were valued by him as the most precious of possessions.§ Thus we find the same spirit already existing which was destined in later times to bring about among the German people the purification of the church by means of the word of God, and to make Christ the central-point of doctrine.

The third council of Valence in 855 decreed, in its 16th canon, that every bishop should, either in person or by the agency of well instructed ministers of the church, so administer the word of preaching, both in the city and in the country churches, that there should be no want of wholesome exhortation for the people; for when God's word is not furnished to the faithful, the soul is deprived of the element of its life. Herard, bishop of Tours, in his pastoral instructions,|| written in the year 858, directed that the priests should expound before all the faithful the doctrines of the incarnation of the Son of God; of his passion, his resurrection, and ascension; of the effusion of the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins to be obtained through the same spirit, and

* The fragments of sermons published under his name by Lambecius, in the catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna, contain simple, practical exhortations. Schilter, who published these again, doubts, however, whether they belong to him. See his *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, T. I.

† As he expresses himself: Thaz wir Christus sungun in unsera Zungun.

‡ Al mit Gote wirkent.

§ See the beautiful first chapter, in which he himself describes the object of his tract. Schilter, T. I.

|| His Capitula.

of baptism into the bosom of the church; that they should warn the people against sins, particularly sins of the grosser sort, and instruct them in the nature of the virtues.* This spiritual care was, moreover, extended to all classes of the people; on which point especially the 14th canon of the synod at Rouen† in 879 well deserves notice, on account of the genuinely Christian spirit with which it recognizes the equal dignity and worth of the human soul in all. It is here said, "The priests should exhort the communities to bid or permit the shepherds and ploughmen who constantly dwell in the fields or in the forest, living like the herds they tend, to come to mass at least on Sundays and feast-days; since Christ has redeemed these also by his precious blood. If they neglect this, let them be assured that by so doing they render themselves accountable for these souls; for when our Lord came into the world, he chose not orators and nobles, but fishermen and ignorant persons, for his disciples, and to show by a practical example, as he himself declares, Luke xvi. 15, that 'what is highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God;' and without excluding a still deeper meaning, we may here remark, too, that our Saviour's birth was first announced by an angel to shepherds." The necessity of establishing schools for the promotion of religious instruction and of the pre-requisite culture, was also acknowledged. In the year 859 the council of Langres,‡ and the council of Savonnières decreed,§ that wherever God raised up able men for teachers, all suitable efforts should be made to found public schools, so that the fruits of both kinds of knowledge, spiritual and secular, might grow in the church; for it is a lamentable fact, and a most disastrous evil, that the true understanding of Scripture has already become so far lost that the lingering remains of it are now scarcely to be found. Riculf, bishop of Soissons, in the year 899, exhorted his country priests to pay attention to the schools.|| He advised them to provide them-

* C. 9.

† Synodis generalis Rodomi. Harduin. T. VI. P. I. f. 207.

‡ Lingonense.

§ Apud Saponarias, c. 10.

|| C. 16. We see from this canon, that schools were also opened for girls; for the bishop forbids his priests to allow boys and girls to mix together in their schools, puellas ad discendum cum scholariis suis in schola sua nequaquam recipiant.

selves with as many books of the Holy Scriptures, and as many religious works as they were able, "since out of them they could draw nourishment for souls, as our Lord says, Man liveth not by bread alone." But he who could not obtain every book of the Old Testament, should at least be careful to provide himself with a correct copy of Genesis.* Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, did much, it is true, by his work, *De Institutione Clericorum*, to disseminate the instructions which Augustin and Gregory the Great had already given, on the right discharge of the spiritual office, and on the previous training necessary thereto; by this means the clergy might at least come to some knowledge of what they were bound to do as religious teachers. But the defects we have already noticed in the constitution of the church were the true reason why a sufficient number of clergy were never to be found capable or inclined to study and apply these instructions. The majority of the clergy who came in immediate contact with the people, possessed no other qualification for their office than a certain skill and expertness in performing the ceremonies of the church. The liturgical element of worship would thus of necessity tend continually to acquire an undue predominance, suiting as it did the prevalent idea of the priesthood; while the didactic element, an element so important for promoting the religious knowledge which was so neglected among the people, would, on the other hand, retreat more and more into the back-ground. From the Pastoral Instructions of Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, to his parochial clergy,† we may see how little could be expected, even in the times next succeeding the Carolingian age, from most of the clergy in the way of giving religious instruction to the people. "Each priest," he says, "should have perfectly committed to memory the exposition of the creed and the Lord's prayer according to the tradition of the orthodox fathers. Next, he should diligently instruct by preaching to the people committed to his care. He should have by heart the canon of the mass, with all that pertains to it, and be able to repeat the whole distinctly. He should be *able to read fluently* the mass, the commandments, the epistles and gospels. He should

* Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 415.

† Capitula ad presbyteros parochiæ suæ.

know by heart the Athanasian creed, understand its meaning, and be capable of explaining it in the vernacular dialect." In consequence of this want of a direct influence of religious truth on the minds of the rude people, but recently torn from paganism, and whose conversion, which was by masses, consisted more in show than in any real change, a sensual bent of religious spirit, and a superstition hanging upon the forms of Christianity, would be sure to thrive. Yet among the other phenomena which arose out of the theological culture of the Carolingian age, was a strong reaction against this whole tendency; and several individuals may be mentioned who stood prominent as the representatives of a Christian spirit of reform.

Let us, in the first place, glance at these few light spots in the general history of the period we are considering. Among them we may notice especially the archbishop Agobard, of Lyons. He found the liturgy of his church corrupted and disfigured by the ignorance of the preceding times, and felt it incumbent on him to amend it by expurgating everything which was not conformed to pure doctrine and to the dignity of liturgical expression. In executing this task, he went on the principle of confining himself as much as possible to scriptural expression.* Being attacked for so doing, as an innovator,† he composed two works in defence of what he had done.‡ In these works he declared himself opposed to the too artificial character of the church music, and to the excessive and one-sided zeal which led many to devote themselves, from their youth upward, exclusively to psalmody, to the neglect of the more important studies of their calling, particularly the study of God's word.§

In the preceding period we observed that the moderate use of images, as opposed to the superstition of image-worship

* Non cujuscunque figmentis, sed Spiritus Sancti eloquiis majestas divina laudanda est. De correctione antiphonarii, c. 2.

† By the liturgical author Amalarius, of Metz.

‡ De divina psalmodia and De correctione antiphonarii.

§ Vid. De correctione antiphonarii, c. 18: Quamplurimi ab ineunte pueritia usque ad senectutis canitiem omnes dies vite suæ in parando et confirmando cantu expendunt et totum tempus utilium et spiritualium studiorum, legendi videlicet et divina eloquia perscrutandi in istiusmodi occupatione consumunt.

on the one hand, and to the fanatical heat of iconoclasm on the other, was defended in the Frank church. These principles had continued ever since to be propagated in that church, as will be seen when we come to speak of the renewed controversies about images in the period before us. It could hardly fail of being the case, however, owing to the want of religious instruction among the people, the prevailing sensuous bent of the religious spirit, and the exaggerated veneration which under these circumstances was paid to the saints, that there would be a gradual but certain transition to the superstitious worship of images. Warmly zealous for the essence of the pure Christian worship of God, Agobard was led by these abuses to write his book concerning images. In this he brings up the great argument used by the defenders of image-worship, viz. that nobody believed that anything divine dwelt in the images themselves; the reverence shown to the images was really paid to the objects represented by them. To which he replies, that we have no authority for paying even to the saints that worship which is due to God alone, and which they were ever found to decline. It was a cunning device of Satan to bring back idolatry, and under pretext of showing honour to the saints, to draw men away from that which is spiritual, and to degrade them to that which is sensual. "We may regard images," he says, "for just what they are, things without life, sense, or reason. The eye may take pleasure in looking at them; but the soul should worship God, who bestows on his saints the crown of victory, and on us the help of their intercessions." "God alone," says he, "must be adored and worshipped by the faithful; to him alone must be presented the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. Angels and holy men may be loved, honoured, but not worshipped. Not on men, but on God alone must we place out hope, lest that prophetic word be accomplished in us, 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.' Jer. xvii." He praises the times when men made images of the cross, but not of the human face, so as to cut off all occasion for idolatry. He approves the proceedings of the council of Elvira, which, in order to banish such superstition, forbade images altogether.* From this we may infer, that he would have been willing to see that decree enforced also in the Frank church: for he

complains that men were again sunk in idolatry, and in the heresy of the Anthropomorphites. Faith had disappeared from the heart, and men had begun to place all their trust in sensible things. He concludes his book with the following remarks:—"Since no man is essentially God save Jesus, our Saviour, so we, as Holy Scripture commands, should bow our knees to his name alone, lest, by our giving this honour to another, God may consider us estranged from him, and leave us to follow the doctrines and traditions of men according to the inclinations of our hearts." With the same pious warmth Agobard, while bitterly complaining of the tendency to relapse into paganism,* attacked the common superstition that there were wizards who had it in their power to raise at pleasure storms of wind and hail,† and others again who knew how to avert such destructive phenomena of nature. He himself, as he relates, had saved the lives of many, and restored them to freedom whom superstition threatened with death for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. He took the same decided stand against the trial by the judgment of God;‡ declaring it a folly to suppose that the more innocent party must always prevail by force, when the contrary had so often happened. God oftentimes reserved the decision between a just and an unjust cause to the final judgment; and it only remained for earthly tribunals to explore the truth by *rational investigation*. With unwavering faith, with earnest prayer and study, the needful wisdom should be sought of God.

Another who manifested his zeal for reform, with even greater freedom and boldness than Agobard, was Claudius of Turin. He was born and received his first education in Spain.§ His opponents called him a disciple of Felix of

* Tanta jam stultitia oppressit miserum mundum, ut nunc sic absurde res credantur a Christianis, quales nunquam antea ad credendum poterat quisquam suadere paganis creatorem omnium ignorantibus.

† Tempestarios, which reminds us of the African rain-makers.

‡ As well against the law of Gundobald, whereby the duel was introduced into the administration of justice, as against the judgments of God generally.

§ To this are doubtless to be traced the barbarisms of his Latin style, with which he is reproached by his opponents, Jonas and Dungal. The Spanish Latin of that period was unquestionably, as appears evident from

Urgellis; from which circumstance we might draw important conclusions with regard to the character of his theological training and direction. In what he says against the worship of the cross we find some indication of a tendency in him to separate too widely asunder the divine and human elements in the character of Christ, and we might refer this to some influence of Adoptianism on his dogmatical mode of thinking. We remarked, indeed, in the general character of Felix as a theologian, the indications of a freer and more independent mode of thinking than was common to the age; and this seems to have been propagated for a longer time, and to have been further developed in Spain—cut off as she was from the narrowing influence of the Roman hierarchy, under the dominion of the Arabs—than it could be in other countries.* But from

the records of these times, extremely corrupt,—on the point of a gradual transition to the later Spanish language.

* Deserving notice on this point is the complaint about certain heretics scattered about in Spain, which is to be found in a letter of Paul Alvarus to the abbot Speraindeo, in Florez' España Sagrada, T. XI. p. 148. Of these nequissimis hæreticis, he says: "Quod trinum in unitate et unum in trinitate non credunt, prophetarum dicta renuunt, doctorum dogma rejiciunt, evangelium se suscipere dicunt, et illud quod scriptum est, Jo. xx. 17. Adscendo ad patrem meum et ad patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum, male utique sentiunt, Christum Deum ac Dominum nostrum hominem tantum asserunt propter illud, quod de eo in evangelio legunt: De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cælorum neque filius, nisi pater solus." Everything surely in this report, where the stamp of the polemical fanaticism then prevailing in Spain plainly discovers itself, is not to be taken according to the letter. Since these false teachers are accused of denying Christ's divinity, and of calling him a mere man, simply because they referred to such passages in the gospels as the Adoptianists appealed to in defence of their theory, it was probably their manner of more exactly discriminating the divine and the human elements in Christ, which led to this accusation; accordingly, the charge of their having denied the doctrine of the Trinity was grounded solely on the consequences which their opponents were pleased to derive from their doctrines. But when it is said of them, that they rejected the dogma of the church teachers, and received nothing but the gospel, we may probably infer from this that they opposed the teachings of the gospel to the authority of the older church teachers; and that it was their aim to purge Christianity from later foreign elements—a kindred tendency therefore to that of Claudius. From the mouth of such opponents it cannot of course be received as absolutely true that they rejected *the prophets generally*, though with the little testimony we have it is impossible to determine how much truth may be lying at the

what Claudius, in the heat of polemical controversy, says against the superstition attached to the sign of the cross, we cannot with any good reason infer that he had a doctrinal theory peculiar to himself respecting the person of Christ; and, as his opponents spare no pains to represent him as a heretic, as Jonas of Orleans even charges him with propagating Arianism—a charge which certainly was altogether groundless*—it appears quite evident that no great weight can be laid upon anything that is said concerning his relation to Felix. In his commentaries we find no trace of Adoptianism, but rather the contrary.† Besides, as the Mohammedans often made the worship of saints and of images a great matter of reproach against the Christians, taking occasion from it to accuse them of apostasy from the pure worship of God, so it is not unreasonable to suppose that, under these circumstances, the apologetic interest may have called forth the effort to purge the Christian church from these foreign elements. It may be said, however, of all these attempts at explanation, that they are neither necessary nor sufficiently well grounded; on the contrary, everything is explained in the most natural manner by referring to the spirit of pure Christian piety, which he had imbibed from the study of the New Testament, and of the writings of St. Paul in particular, constantly employed as he was on the exposition of the sacred Scriptures. We have, moreover, in Claudius the example of a case—afterwards more frequently occurring—where, in consequence of the great tendencies called forth by Augustin in opposition to Pelagianism, and in connection with the doctrines of grace and of inward justification, an antagonism of the Christian consciousness was awakened against the Jewish element, which, in the life of the

bottom of this statement. Perhaps they may have simply combated the arbitrary mode in which the prophets were usually explained; and if Adoptianism is to be traced to an impulse first given by the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, then this *heresy* too might be referred back to the influence of Theodore's hermeneutical principles.

* As every fragment we possess of his commentaries proves, and as may be gathered also from his mode of combating the idolatry of the image-worshippers.

† In his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, Bibl. patr. T. XIV. f. 155. Col. I. C., he says expressly that the idea of adoption as children of God can be applied only to the faithful.

church, had become mingled and blended with Christianity. It is clearly evident, from the commentaries of Claudius and from the remarks of his opponents, that he was more attached to Augustin than to any other one of the church fathers. Indeed, he is accused of despising the other church teachers.* It is not to be mistaken that his mind had been deeply influenced by the study of Augustin; that the religious disputes into which he was drawn grew out of the peculiar bias he had thus received. The evidence of this may be seen particularly in the concluding remarks of the preface to his commentary on Leviticus.† He praises God, as the fountain of all truth, goodness, and blessedness, from whom created beings derive all they possess, and whom they should only serve as obedient instruments; and here he quotes passages in point from Augustin's work, *De vera religione*. Then, in allusion to the fierce attacks with which, at the time of his writing this, he was assailed in Italy, he says: "This is the firmest and loftiest sanctuary of our faith. This is the seal deeply stamped on our heart.‡ In asserting and defending this truth I am become an object of scorn to my neighbours, a frightful spectre to my acquaintance, so that those who see me not only mock at me, but point me out with the finger as an object to be shunned."§ Here Claudius himself designates the starting-point from which all his controversies proceeded, and shows how closely they were connected with the elements of his Augustinian theology. The interest of practical Christianity stands foremost in all his scriptural commentaries. Grace, the source of genuine sanctification; the temper and disposition the main thing to be

* See Dungal's *Responsa adv. Claud. Taurinens. Bibl. patr. Lugdun. f. 204. Col. II.* Augustinum adsumit, alios præter eum solum pæne omnes abjicit; yet before he had only said of him, that he had the audacity to set himself up as a judge over the older church teachers, praising and censuring them according to his own liking. After the same manner we are probably to understand also what we have just cited, that he did not acknowledge the church teachers as any decisive authority, but subjected their explanations of Scripture to a free examination.

† *Informationes literæ et spiritus.*

‡ *Hæc fidei nostræ munitissimum atque altissimum sacramentum et cordi nostro firmissimus character impressus.*

§ *Hanc adstruendo et defendendo veritatem opprobrium factus sum vicinis meis in tantum, ut qui videbant nos, non solum deridebant; sed etiam digito unus alteri ostendebant.* T. I. Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 38.

regarded in the estimation of moral worth; a disposition of love to God, purified from all reference to reward, the essence of the genuinely Christian temper;* worship of God in the spirit, the characteristic of true piety; these are the ideas to which he assigns the first importance. And it is easy to understand, therefore, in what sort of relation he must of course have been placed to the reigning sensuous element in the religious tendency of his age. Hence, too, another thing which characterizes him is his more profound apprehension of the nature of sin, leading him to combat the opinion that it consisted merely in the domination of sense; and to assert that what the sacred Scriptures designate as the "flesh" refers to the entire human nature in its condition of estrangement from God; including, therefore, selfishness."† From this ethical point of view he would necessarily be led to dispute many of the marks by which his contemporaries were accustomed to judge respecting good works. Thus to the merit of good works, according to monkery, he opposed St. Paul's doctrine of grace.‡

Claudius was one, also, of the number of men distinguished for their science and piety, who were brought together from all countries by the Frank church. While the emperor Charles was still reigning, and his successor, Lewis, was as yet only king, he resided at the court of the latter, and was one of his household clergy.§ Here, in compliance with the wishes of

* On Galat. iii. 6, he says, and in his own words, at least in words not borrowed from Augustin or Jerome: Recte talis reputatur fides ad justitiam (ejus) qui legis opera supergressus, Deum non metu, sed dilectione promeruit; and also peculiar to him is the description of true love to God, as such: si propter Deum etiam salutem nostram et ipsas animas contemnamus. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XIV. f. 150.

† See his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, l. c. f. 162. Col. II.

‡ In the preface to his commentary on the epistle to the Romans: Nul- lam admonitionem meliorem potui invenire, quia tota (epistola) inde agitur, ut merita hominum tollat, unde maxime nunc monachi gloriuntur, et gratiam Dei commendat.

§ Claudius himself, in his dedication of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians to the abbot Dructeram, speaks of his three years' residence near the court of king Lewis, in Auvergne; and this residence of Claudius, when a priest, at the court of Lewis, is mentioned also by Jonas of Orleans, in the preface to his work against Claudius.

his friends, he began his scriptural commentaries, for the benefit of those ecclesiastics who were unable to go back to the sources of the older church teachers.* When this king became emperor he thought he could do nothing which would be more likely to improve the condition of the church in Italy, a church so far sunk in worldly views, ignorance, and superstition,† than by nominating him, as he did in the year 814, bishop of Turin. Here Claudius entered a field of labour where his pious zeal found work enough to do, but where that same zeal in a person of his fiery temperament might easily lead on to immoderate invective. He saw with extreme pain how the essence of Christianity was here placed in making pilgrimages to Rome, in adoring images and relics, in various species of outward works; how men were taught to trust in the intercession of the saints to the neglect of all earnest moral efforts of their own. He beheld a superstition which bordered closely on paganism, obtaining in the worship of saints, of images, of the cross, and of relics. No doubt, in surrendering himself entirely to the impulses of his pious zeal for the purity of the Christian worship of God, he failed of that wisdom and prudence in managing the minds of men, which would have led him to prepare the way by slow and gradual steps for an improvement of the life in the church. He declaimed vehemently against superstition; he banished from the churches the images and crosses which seemed to him to have become objects of religious adoration. He says himself on this subject:‡ “When I was induced to undertake the office of pastor, and came to Italy, I found, contrary to true doctrine, all the churches full of the lumber of consecrated gifts;§ and because

* His enemies objected to him, it is true, that he had done nothing but to compile from earlier writings, without naming the authors whom he made use of. But as Claudius *says himself* that he proceeded according to this method, he is thus vindicated from this charge. His work contains besides many original remarks.

† Jonas says: *Ut Italicæ plebi, quæ magna ex parte a sanctorum evangelistarum sensibus procul aberat, sacræ doctrinæ consultum ferret.*

‡ In the *Apologeticus* against the abbot Theodemir, l. c. f. 197.

§ *Inveni omnes basilicas contra ordinem veritatis, sordibus anathematum* (Jonas here understands the term *anathema* in the common sense, curse of images. But should it not, perhaps, be understood of the votive offerings, figures of recovered limbs, which were hung up in the churches, in gratitude for the cures which were supposed to have

I alone began pulling down what all adored, I was calumniated by all; and, unless the Lord had helped me, they would perhaps have swallowed me up alive." Pope Paschalis I. (who ruled from 817 to 824) expressed, as might be expected, from the course pursued by the popes during the controversies about images, displeasure at his conduct.* But it is remarkable that, although the popes countenanced the fanaticism of the multitude, this expression of displeasure had no further injurious effect on Claudius; perhaps because in the Frank emperor, who valued him on account of his pious zeal, he possessed too powerful a protector. Since, in the Frankish church generally, there was the same aversion to the superstition of image-worship which prevailed in Italy, and Claudius had been sent there for the express purpose of counteracting it, perhaps there was a more decided disposition to favour him on this point, till it became known how far he had suffered himself to be carried by his zeal for reform. After having maintained this contest for several years he dedicated, in the year 823, to his old friend Theodemir, abbot of the monastery of Psalnody, in the diocese of Nismes, his commentary on Leviticus; and in speaking, at the conclusion of the preface, in the place above cited, concerning that zeal for the fundamental truths of the gospel whereby he had been drawn into these disputes, he says:† "But the Father of mercies and God of all grace comforts us in all our sufferings, so that we also can comfort those who suffer in any way. Since our trust is in him, and it is through him who protects us with the sword of justice and the helmet of salvation, we are not cast down in all our temptations." In the midst of these controversies he continued still to work on his scriptural commentaries, though liable to constant interruption from the manifold foreign and secular business connected with the episcopal office, and from his controversial disputes.‡ These commentaries gave him also frequent occa-

come from the saints? These gifts may have appeared to Claudius as a sign of the superstitious worship of the saints) *imaginibus plenas*.

* We know this only as a general fact, without a specification of the particulars, from the words of Claudius, in his *Apologeticus*, against the abbot Theodemir, T. XIV. f. 199, Col. I.: *Displicere tibi dicis, eo quod Dominus apostolicus indignatus sit mihi. Hoc dixisti de Paschali, ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopo, qui præsentī jam caruit vita.*

† Mabillon, *Analecta*, T. I. p. 39.

‡ He alludes to this when, dedicating his commentary on the epistle

sion for unfolding, polemically, his peculiar principles; but of this he availed himself with great moderation. The first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians would, from the nature of its contents, furnish him with a better opportunity than other epistles of St. Paul, for combating the Jewish element in the shaping of the Christianity of his age; and hence this book might naturally give offence to some who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with him. So it actually happened, in the case of the above-mentioned abbot Theodemir, a man who, by propounding to him various questions of theology, had been the means of engaging him in the composition of many of his works. This abbot lodged before an assembly of bishops and robes a complaint against the last-named work, on account of the heresies contained in it, when Claudius supposed that he was still on friendly terms with him. To judge rightly of the motives which dictated this procedure, and of the honourable or dishonourable character of the act, we should possess more definite information respecting the whole process of the affair. It seems, however, that he was unable to carry the process through; on the contrary, the friends of Claudius undertook the defence of his book, and gave him an account of what had been done.* He wrote to Theodemir, complaining of his conduct: "May the Lord forgive you," said he, "who is the witness of my life, and who gave me this work to do."

We know not whether it was during or after the time of these transactions that Theodemir himself wrote him a letter, in which he expressed the sorrow he felt to find the report of his erroneous doctrines, and of a new sect which he had founded, had spread from Italy through France, and even to Spain,†

to the Galatians to the abbot Dructeram, by whose invitation he had composed it, he writes to him: *Sed quia laboribus et turbinibus mundi depressus hactenus parere jussioni tuæ nequivi, modo largiente Deo in isto quadragesimæ tempore, etc.*

* We see this from the letter of Claudius to the abbot Theodemir, attached to his commentary on the fourth book of Kings, which Zacharia first published in his *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, T. I. p. 64. He says there, *Pervenit ad manus meas epistola ex aquis regio dicto palatio, qualiter tu librum tractatus mei, quem tibi ante biennium præstiti, in epistolis ad Corinthios episcoporum judicio atque optimatum damnandum ad eundem jam dictum palatium præsentari feceris, quem tractatum ibidem non damnandum, sed scribendum amici mei non solum humiliter, sed amabiliter susceperunt.*

† The words of Claudius, in his vindication: *Quod rumor abierit ex*

and in which he laid before him those points which he supposed to contain heresy. He doubtless exhorted him to abandon such errors. Claudius, upon this, composed a work in defence of his conduct and of his doctrines against these charges, wherein he unfolded his principles with great boldness, and the most violent zeal. He declared that on no point had he set forth erroneous doctrines, or been a schismatic; but that he held firmly to the unity of the church, preached the truth, and defended the church; that he had always hitherto combated superstition and error, and would, with God's help, always continue to combat them.* He attacked in this work every mode and form of image-worship; he exposed, as Agobard had done, every false plea, which could be employed in its palliation. "If those," said he, "who have forsaken idolatry, worship the images of the saints, then they have not forsaken idols, but changed their names. Whether thou paintest thy walls with figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, or of Jupiter and Saturn, neither the latter are gods, nor the former apostles. If men must be worshipped, it were much better to pay that worship to the living than to the dead; that is, to that wherein they bear the image of God, than to that wherein they are like to the brute, or rather to lifeless wood and stone. If the works of God's hands (the stars of heaven) ought not to be worshipped, much less ought the works of human hands to be worshipped; even the worship of saints will not bear to be excused, for these never arrogated divine honours to themselves. Whoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God alone, is an idolater."

Here Claudius appears only as an opponent of *image-worship*, though the manner in which he speaks of it would lead us to conjecture that he was no friend to religious symbols generally. But though his Frankish opponent complains of him particularly for unconditionally condemning religious images, and for not distinguishing the right use from the abuse of them, yet it

Italia de me per omnes Gallias usque ad fines Hispaniæ, quasi ego sectam quandam novam prædicaverim contra regulam fidei Catholicæ. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XIV.

* Sectas et schismata et superstitiones atque hæreses in quantum valui compressi, et pugnavi et expugnavi et expugnare, in quantum valeo, prorsus Deo adjuvante non cesso.

is by no means clear, from the declarations of Claudius lying before us, that he would forbid the making and using of such images in themselves. Only in the heat of his zeal against the superstition of image-worship he made use of expressions which might seem directed against religious images generally; for it is evident that he banished them from the churches only because he thought he could see no other way of getting rid of the superstition. Hence then his zeal also against the sign of the cross, which elsewhere was approved by all parties. And his mode of expressing himself in this zeal to lead away the mind from *all* sensuous symbols to spiritual communion with the Redeemer, was certainly liable to misconception, and might well expose him to many suspicions of heresy. He said of those who by the sign of the cross pretended to honour the memory of Christ's passion, "like the godless, they take pleasure in nothing that belongs to the Saviour, but the shame of his sufferings. Like the Jews and pagans, who knew nothing of his resurrection, they would have only a suffering Christ, and understand not what the apostle says, 'though we have once known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more.'"^{*} If one must worship every piece of wood bearing the shape of the cross, because Christ hung on the cross, for the same reason one should worship also many other things with which Christ came in contact while living in the flesh, where he adduces many absurd and trivial examples. "Thus one should worship all virgins, because he was born of a virgin; one should worship the manger, because at his birth he was laid in a manger. For the same reason ships might be worshipped, because he spent much time in ships, and from ships taught the multitude,"[†] &c. We might indeed be led to infer from such declarations that Claudius had no presentiment of the significance of the cross for the Christian consciousness, and that he did not even recognize the fact which it

* These seem to have been favourite words with Claudius, marking the spiritual tendency of his views of Christianity; as in fact he referred everything to spiritual union with Christ, and opposed this to ceremonial rites. Comp. the fragments of Claudius, published by Dr. Rudelbach. Havniæ, 1824, p. 44.

† Adorentur agni, quia de illo scriptum est: ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, sed isti perversorum dogmatum cultores agnos vivos volunt vorare et in pariete pictos adorare. Perhaps an allusion to the custom of keeping the feast of the passover.

symbolizes, the redemptive sufferings of Christ in their significance for the Christian consciousness.* But other declarations in his writings prove the contrary; and doubtless it was only his zeal against the fleshly mode of apprehending Christianity, and for the spiritual and moral appropriation of it, which misled him into such violent expressions. To point men away from the sensuous worship of the cross to the spiritual following after Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and in self-renunciation, was to him the principal thing; and hence the vehemence of his zeal against everything which tended to draw men away from this. Thus he says against the fleshly worshippers of the cross, "What *they do* is quite a different thing from what *God has commanded*. God has commanded us to bear the cross, not to adore it; they are for adoring it, because they are unwilling to bear it either spiritually or bodily.† To worship God after this manner means to turn away from him; for he has said: 'Whoever will come after me let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me;' for he who does not break away from himself cannot draw near to him who is higher than himself; no man can grasp that which is above him, but by self-sacrifice.‡ Again he says, 'To fools we are compelled to speak that which is foolish, and cast stones at stony hearts.' Return to reason, ye who have fallen from the truth, and love vanity; ye have become vain, ye who crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, and have thereby made the souls of poor men, in thousands, companions of evil spirits. By the shameful sacrilege of images

* From a passage in his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, it might be inferred that he regarded Christ's death on the cross as if he endured it as a penalty for the violation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, and thereby delivered the faithful from the binding power of that law: *Itaque illa carnaliter non observando carnali conflagravit invidia et suscepit quidem pœnam propositam illis, qui eam non observassent, sed ut credentes in se talis pœnæ timore omnino liberaret.* In what follows, however, he apprehends the redemptive sufferings of Christ in a higher sense. *Vid. Commentar. ep. ad Galat. fol. 151.*

† *Deus jussit crucem portare, non adorare, isti volunt adorare, quam nolunt nec spiritaliter nec corporaliter secum portare.* It is not clear what he meant by this antithesis of spiritaliter and corporaliter. Perhaps spiritual self-denial and bodily suffering.

‡ *Quia videlicet nisi qui a semetipso deficiat, ad eum, qui super ipsum est, non adpropinquat nec valet apprehendere, quod ultra ipsum est, si nescierit mactare quod est.*

you estrange them from their Creator, and plunge them in everlasting ruin." He invites men to seek after inward fellowship with Christ, when he says: "Ye blind, return to the true light, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world; which light shineth into the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not; ye who, not beholding that light, walk in darkness, and know not whither you go, because the darkness hath blinded your eyes." Claudius, in this sense, combated everything else which, as an object of false confidence, was substituted in the place of one's own moral efforts, no less than he combated saint-worship. He held up as opposed to this the passage in Ezekiel, xiv. 14; "This is said," he observed, "to warn us against trusting to the merits or to the intercession of saints; because no one who has not the same faith, the same righteousness and truth, whereby the saints obtained the divine approbation, can be saved."* He had contended against the frequent pilgrimages to Rome, and especially against the confidence reposed in them, at the expense of practical religion; as he himself says, "The foolish men, to the undervaluing of all spiritual instruction, are for going to Rome in order to attain everlasting life." Nor did he by any means contradict himself, as he is accused of doing by Jonas of Orleans, when he spoke so strongly against the pilgrimages, and still would not own to Theodemir that he absolutely condemned them; for it was not making the pilgrimage to Rome in itself which he condemned, but only the opinion which supported the practice, the opinion that there was something meritorious in this act, that true penance consisted in this, that a man thereby made himself sure of enjoying the intercession of St. Peter. Disputing the high value ascribed to these holy pilgrimages, he says: "One gets no nearer to St. Peter by finding himself on the spot where his body was buried, for the soul is the real man."

In general, he denied that St. Peter possessed any con-

* Also in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians an allusion is found of this kind; for in comparing Galat. vi. 2 with 5, he remarks: *Obscure licet docemur per hanc sententiam novum dogma, quod latitat, dum in præsenti sæculo sumus, sive orationibus sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari. Cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noë, rogare posse pro quoquam sed unumquemque portare onus suum.* L. c. fol. 164. Col. II.

tinuous power to bind and to loose;* “Christ, in fact, did not say to Peter, ‘What thou loosest *in heaven*, shall be loosed also upon earth, and what thou bindest *in heaven*, shall be bound also on earth,’ as he must have said, if a power to bind and loose still belonging to Peter at the present time, had really been meant; but Christ employed the opposite mode of expression. The power of acting as spiritual judges was entrusted to bishops only during the period of their natural lives.” Turning upon the abbot himself, he said to him, “If to do penance and to make the pilgrimage to Rome be one and the same thing, why for so long a time hast thou received so many souls into thy monastery for the purpose of doing penance, and, retaining them there instead of sending them to Rome, made them rather serve thyself? For, as thou sayest, thou hast a congregation of a hundred and forty monks, all of whom came to thee, and gave themselves to the monastery for the sake of penance, and not one of whom thou sufferest to go to Rome.” By so doing he must call down on himself that sentence of our Lord against those who gave offence to the least. There was no greater offence than to hinder a man from taking the course which would lead him to eternal blessedness. We perceive here the aversion of Claudius to the monastic life, and to the rule of the abbots. Theodemir had reproached him with incurring the displeasure of the Dominus apostolicus. He replied, “The title of apostolicus does not belong to him who administers a bishopric founded by an apostle, but to him who truly fulfils the apostolical vocation;† to those who occupy the place without fulfilling the vocation, should be applied the passage in Matthew xxiii. 12.” Doubtless he meant to say that he felt in nowise bound to obey the pope, where, as in this matter, the pope stood opposed to the apostolical doctrine.‡

* Worthy of remark, too, is what he says in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians concerning the relation of Peter and Paul: *Petrum solum nominat et sibi comparat, quia primum ipse accepit ad fundandam ecclesiam (inter Judæos), se quoque pari modo electum, ut primum habeat in fundandis gentium ecclesiis. Vid. fol. 147.*

† Non ille, qui in cathedra sedet apostoli, sed qui apostolicum implet officium.

‡ Also the distinction of a visible and invisible church is found hinted at in ep. ad Galat. f. 142. *Dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici, et eam, quæ non habeat maculam aut rugam et vere corpus Christi sit, et eam, quæ in*

Theodemir hereupon wrote an apology in opposition to Claudius, in which, so far as we can judge from the fragments that have been preserved,* he made a good defence of himself on the fundamental principles inculcated within the pale of the Frankish church. "If the monks," says he, "are bound by their special calling to a quiet residence in one spot, and hence cannot for special reasons undertake the journey to Rome, it is still by no means inconsistent with this, to consider it a praiseworthy thing for men to undertake, out of love for the heavenly land, so toilsome a journey, and visit the churches of those apostles with whose souls it is impossible for them here to mingle. Although the passage in 1 Tim. ii. might be rightly applied against such as suppose that men can pray only where an altar has been erected, or relics are to be found, yet, though permitted and bound to pray in every place, men may still choose to visit one particular spot for the purposes of devotion, as Paul made a journey to the temple in Jeru-salem." He utterly repelled the assertion of Claudius, that the monks had come to him for the sake of penance, and that they *were to serve him*. To say this of one's self would be presumptuous arrogance in any man. It was not to take refuge in *him*, but in the mercy of the Lord, and to seek salvation from Him, that they had come to the monastery.

As may be inferred from the language of one of his opponents, Claudius was cited before an assembly of bishops; but he did not present himself, as he could easily foresee that it would be impossible for him to come to any understanding with the bishops of this country; and perhaps in the contempt which he expressed for them, he yielded too much to his indignation against superstition.† But it is remarkable‡ that the bishops took no further steps against him, whether they

Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. Therefore the community of those who only confess Christ outwardly, without the right disposition—the church in an improper sense.

* In the work of Jonas of Orleans, l. III., De cultu imag. f. 190. T. XIV. Bibl. patr. Lugd.

† Dungal remarks, in his tract against Claudius (l. c. f. 223): Renuit ad conventum occurrere episcoporum, vocans illorum synodum congregationem asinorum

‡ For this Dungal accuses them: Illi nimium patientes hæc diutius dissimulare non debuerant.

were deterred by the favour in which Claudius stood with the emperor, or whether they were drawn away from this matter by other outward affairs, which they considered of greater moment. Meanwhile, however, the tract of Claudius in defence of his opinions furnished abundant occasion for charging him with heresy; it was complained of before the emperor Lewis,* as a work containing heretical views, and so it was regarded by men of note. A number of propositions were extracted from it which were pronounced heretical;† and a certain Dungal, probably from Scotland or Ireland, undertook, in the year 827,‡ to refute it, and called upon the Frank princes to take measures for preventing the spread of these errors. The emperor Lewis himself gave it in charge to Jonas, bishop of Orleans, to write a refutation of the above mentioned propositions; but as in the meanwhile, about the year 839, Claudius died, Jonas suffered the matter to lie.§ But when he was informed that Claudius had succeeded in gaining admission for his principles in those districts, and had left behind him a party which followed them, he felt himself called upon to resume and complete the work he had undertaken.

Jonas approved the zeal of Claudius against the image-worship of Italy, but he finds fault with him for not having proceeded with more forbearance and caution, and distinguished the right use of images from the abuse of them:‖ for arrogantly asserting that he alone taught the truth; for confounding the moderate use of images in the Frank and German church with the Italian image-worship; for not sparing even the sign of the cross, and for attacking the worship of the saints and pilgrimages. In defence of the veneration paid to the sign of the cross he gives a reason, which he might have applied indeed with equal propriety to the worship of images: "The whole act," he said, "was not

* See the preface to the work of bishop Jonas against Claudius.

† The same which we here avail ourselves of, as the work of Claudius himself no longer remains.

‡ As he himself says, two years after the Parisian synod on images.

§ As he himself says in the above cited preface.

‖ Immoderatus et indiscretus zelus. Quia errorem gregis sui ratione dirigere neglexit, et eorum animis scandalum generavit et in sui detestationem eos quodam modo prorumpere coëgit. L. c. f. 168.

an expression of reverence for the cross, but a mark of reverence and love to Him, who by the cross destroyed the power of death." He spoke of the custom of bowing the head and kissing the books of the sacred Scriptures, alluding particularly to that custom in the church where the clergy, after the lesson from the gospels had been read, kissed one after another the holy evangelists, an act, he said, intended to show reverence and love to Him whose word had just been read, not to the parchment and ink, but to the author of the law.* As to pilgrimages, Jonas agreed with Claudius, that they could not be regarded as anything good in themselves, aside from the disposition and motives of those who made them; but the same, he supposed, might be said of all good works. To fast, to give alms, was no good thing when done from pride and vanity. Claudius ought therefore to have judged of pilgrimages also according to the different motives with which they were undertaken.† He himself ascribes to pilgrimages to Rome, undertaken for the purpose of obtaining the intercessions of the apostle Peter, so much worth as this, that they had an influence to awaken zeal for the worship of God, and that works undertaken from love to God were sure to have their reward. Moreover, it was a principle implanted in the human mind, that the actual beholding of a thing operated more strongly on the feelings, than hearing the reports of others.‡ After the same manner Walafrid Strabo expressed himself on this subject,§ in his liturgical work written about the year 840, and entitled, *De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum*. He too declared himself || opposed to both the erroneous extremes, the unconditional rejection of images, and that veneration of them which bordered on idolatry. "If the arts of the painter and sculptor,"

* He defends, it is true, the *adoratio crucis* attacked by Claudius, but he softens this expression by the added explanation: *Volumus more ecclesiastico ob recordationem passionis dominicæ crucem adorare, i. e. salutare*. T. II. f. 183.

† *Satius itaque erat, te hoc opus ex mentis pensasse iudicio, et sicut alia media bona, ita et hoc quoque aut cordis devotione iudicasse utile vel certe ob indevotionem minus profuturum sanxisse*. L. III. f. 189.

‡ *Sane est etiam proprium humanæ menti, non adeo compungi ex auditis, sicut ex visis*.

§ From A.D. 842, abbot of Reichenau (Augia), not far from Constance.

|| C. 8.

says he, "must be censured, because their works mislead the uncultivated to adoration, then God might be blamed for having formed creatures which, by the impression they produce, mislead erring mortals to pay them divine honours. If we ought to destroy images on account of this abuse of them, so on the same principle we ought to destroy churches, lest some might be led to suppose that the omnipresent God is limited to a particular place. Thus it might happen, that in attempting to avoid everything which might furnish occasion of error to the simple, nothing would be left to us as a means of exercising our devotion, or of elevating the simple and ignorant to the love of invisible things." Archbishop Hinkmar, of Rheims,* also, still advocated the same principles, as may be seen from the fact that he describes the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts among the Greeks as two parties who erred on opposite extremes; that he set over against both extremes the tradition of the fathers and the doctrine of Scripture, and that he speaks with approbation of the Carolinian books, which he had read in his youth.† Nevertheless, at such a time, when the tendency of the religious spirit was so strongly directed to sense, when there was such a lack of educated clergymen, and the influence of the Romish church, in which image-worship reigned supreme, was so great, this superstition could not fail eventually to pass over also to the church of the Franks. Especially as the dark times of the tenth century were now commencing, times so inauspicious to pure religion that already, at the synod of Trosley in the beginning of this century, we find the bishops complaining thus: "It is to be charged to our negligence and ignorance, and to that of our fellow-labourers, that in the churches many are to be found sunk in the lowest vice, and multitudes, almost without number, of every sex and order, who to the years of old age have never obtained so much

* It is to be lamented that Hinkmar's tract, probably occasioned by the controversies then existing on this subject, which Flodoard quotes in his history of Rheims, has not come down to our times. *Scriptit etiam librum flagitantibus cœpiscopis fratribus suis, qualiter imagines salvatoris vel sanctorum ipsius venerandæ sint cum epilogo quodam metricæ digesto.* L. III. c. 29.

† See the opusculum contra Hincm. Laudunensem, c. 20. T. II. opp. f. 457.

correct knowledge of the simple faith as to be able to repeat the words of the confession of faith, or of the Lord's prayer."*

Yet even in these times of gross darkness, individual instances were not wanting of a countervailing influence, proceeding from organs of a purer Christian spirit. We see shining forth in the midst of all this darkness a man, for example, like Nilus, who, at any period, might justly be esteemed a clear light of the Holy Spirit. And in the same country, which was at that time the seat of the worst superstition, in Italy, stood forth an individual, not to be compared indeed with Nilus for purity of disposition and zeal sanctified and ennobled by the spirit of love and gentleness, but still manfully earnest in contending with the fleshly Christianity of the times, and the immorality which served as its prop—Ratherius, bishop of Verona. He attacked with boldness and vigour the conduct of the wicked clergy, who, by encouraging men to rely on absolution and indulgences without impressing on their hearts the nature and the conditions of true penitence, did but confirm them in their sinful propensities. Such clergymen he styled *murderers of souls*.† The same bishop also enjoins it on his parochial priests as a duty, not to bestow absolution on any man for any reasons whatsoever, unless he gave signs of true penitence.‡ It is a fact which serves to characterize both him and his clergy, that the latter found fault with him because he made the way of salvation too hard for the people, and promised the kingdom of heaven to none but the suffering.§ In particular, he distinguished himself in his fast-sermons by the boldness and decision with which he attacked every species of mock penitence, and all the props of a false security joined to a sinful life. Thus he

* C. 15.

† He speaks of ecclesiastics who observed the church laws so far as to refrain from beating sinners with the fist or with rods; but who did them a fouler wrong, in that they murdered them spiritually. *Sinon percussa fideles delinquentes (quod et canonibus interdicatur) pugno vel baculo, et adulterinae absolutionis, largitionis vel certe benedictionis flagello aut pessimorum actuum interficiat illos exemplo. De contemptu canonum, P. I. s. 17. ed. Ballerin. f. 355; or D'Achery, Spicileg. T. I. f. 350.*

‡ *Nullus vestrum, minus digne pœnitentem cujuscunque rei gratia ad reconciliationem adducat. In his Synodica, s. 8.*

§ *Calamitosis iste solum regnum Dei promittit, l. c. D'Achery, f. 358.*

inveighs against those * who would indemnify themselves for fasting at some particular season, by drunkenness and gluttony at other times. "*They* have not rightly fasted," said he, "who save what they have abstracted from their bodies, as an offering either for their appetites or for their avarice. Nor is there anything which can please God in the fasts of those who in the season of fasting are still busy with calumnies, contentions, and other evil works. It were better, as St. Jerome says, to put up daily with a less amount of food, than to fast severely all at one time. It were better, if for no other reason, because the latter may be done out of mere vanity." Again, he says, "We ought not to suppose that good can be balanced off against evil; that one may fast, for instance, give alms, forgive injuries, pray, and then be allowed to commit adultery or other crimes with impunity; for the forgiveness of sin is promised to none but those who repent of it and forsake it."† He spoke against those who ascribed undue importance to a dead and unproductive faith, and to a participation in the outward fellowship of the church; who promised all baptized and orthodox Christians final salvation though they might have to endure the pains of purgatory; who said, God is too merciful to suffer any man who is a Christian to be lost in hell, though they would have said the truth, had they understood that no man is a Christian but he who does the will of Christ. So far was such a dead faith without works from being of any avail, that, on the contrary, they are the more deserving of punishment who possess the means of grace so far beyond others, and yet make no use of them for their own improvement. He exposed the folly of relying on any species of good works whatever, to which a false value was ascribed when isolated as an *opus operatum*, and considered apart from the temper of the heart; as, for example, when property wrongly acquired was given as alms. The essential thing was, to seek to do good, not for the sake of the idle fame of it, but for the honour of God's law, and

* D'Achery, f. 384 et seq.

† So also *præloquiorum*, l. VI. Martene et Durand. monumentor. et scriptor. vet. collectio, T. IX. f. 948: *Pœnitentiam vero nec iste nec ille digne agere convincitur, si dum unum quodlibet vitium sese macerando insequitur, aliud simile aut forsitan gravius aut certe plura alia committere non veretur.*

from sympathy with all that is human. Everything depended on the disposition of the heart; and he who was so poor as to have nothing to give, could still give himself, that is, his heart, in a sympathizing love.* In exhorting to prayer, he also speaks against the *opus operatum*, and points to the inward temper as the essential thing. "They," says he, "do not rightly pray who ask of the Lord, not that which he has commanded us to ask, but rather that which he has forbidden; for he bids us to long and seek after heavenly things, while we seek after the things of earth. He bids us pray for those who persecute us; but we think impious prayers against them." He spoke against the seemingly devout, who spent the night in prayer and spiritual songs, but the day in idleness and uncharitableness, though the day was meant for labour, and the night for repose. True prayer, he said, is that which springs from worshipping God in spirit and in truth. The opinion which Ratherius entertained of pilgrimages, may be gathered from the record of his own meditations on a certain occasion. In the year 966, when on the eve of a journey to Rome on matters of business, he proposed the question to himself, *why am I going to Rome?*† "Not," he answered, "for the sake of prayer," arguing from John iv. 21, that every man can worship God in spirit and in truth even in his own house. "Nor is it to learn what is good and well pleasing to God. Micah vi. 8, He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God; not merely when we go to Rome, but in whatever other place we may find ourselves. But he walks constantly with God who never departs from His commandments. In this consists the law and the prophets, that we at all times, in thought, word, and deed, follow Christ."

The earnest desire of Ratherius to promote spiritual views of Christianity led him to use his influence against a species of

* Vid. l. c. f. 386. So also in the VI. book of his *Præloquia*, Martene et Durand. T. IX. f. 943: *Quodlibet bonum quanquam minimum, si propter caritatem facis, securus esto, cum fructu facis. Si propter aliud facis, ne erres, inaniter facis. A quolibet malo si caritatis amore compesceris, mercede non carebis. Si ob aliud agis, nec venia nedum gratia dignus haberis.*

† *Itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis*, at the beginning.

sensuous anthropomorphism, which, through the fault of ignorant and uncultivated ecclesiastics, had again become widely diffused.* But in this case it was certainly not less evident than in the case of the earlier Anthropomorphites, that it was a tendency which could be grappled with and subdued, not by any negative process, not by attacking the single errors which were connected with this mode of thinking, but only by operating, through the spirit of Christianity itself, on the very ground-work of this mode of thinking and spiritualizing it, from the inmost centre of the Christian consciousness. He was informed that the priests of the see of Vicenza entertained altogether sensuous and anthropomorphic notions of God, taking the figurative representations of the Old Testament simply in their literal sense. This led him, in one of his sermons, to attack these fleshly vices, and to speak of the divine being as a spirit. But he thus gave offence to the great mass, who had never been used to represent anything to themselves, except under some form of sense; and who, therefore, supposed they must lose the whole if they gave up the sensuous form under which they conceived it. Even some of his own priests imagined, like those ancient Anthropomorphites, that their God had been taken away from them, since it was only under the form of such images they could behold him.† In like manner, he objected to the sensuous notions which the rude multitude and uneducated clergy framed to themselves, of a God seated on a golden throne, and surrounded by a throng of winged angels. A story had been circulated that on a certain Monday mass would be celebrated by the angel Michael. As might be expected, a vast multitude flocked to the church where such an extraordinary mass was to be held, which was a source of no small gain to the priests. But Ratherius took great pains to introduce and foster more spiritual views, and to destroy those idols, as he called them, which men had formed out of their own imagination.‡ He attacked the superstition which pretended to cure diseases by the use of amulets and

* Berengar calls them *infinatissimos ad eorum comparationem*, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt. ed. Vischer. pag. 116.

† Quid modo faciemus. Usque nunc aliquid visum est nobis de Deo scire, modo videtur nobis, quod nihil omnino sit Deus, si caput non habet, etc. Vid. D'Achery, l. c. fol. 388.

‡ Quoquomodo idola tibi in corde cœpisti stultissime fabricare.

charms, and to raise or hush storms by forms of incantation.* “The miracles wrought by the holy men of the Old and New Testaments,” said he, “were not *their own* work, but the work of God, through their instrumentality. Their faith—the faith to which our Lord ascribes such power, Matt. xvii. 19—accomplished this. Neither the devil nor any evil-minded man could produce such effects, to the injury of others; but God produces them whenever he pleases, by the hands of his servants; and, being infinitely good, produces them only for the benefit of mankind.”†

Among these organs of a right Christian spirit, who fought against superstition and the worldly temper dressed out in the garb of Christianity, we may place also Odo, the abbot of Cluny. In the introduction to his biographical notice of count Gerald of Aurilly, a pious layman, he notices, as among the particular marks of a holy man, the Christian virtues and deeds of mercy, these being the more acceptable qualities in the sight of God, though miracles are valued at a much higher rate by the multitude;‡ “for,” says he, assigning his reasons, “our Lord, in the final judgment, will say to many, who had prophesied and performed wonders, I never knew you. But to those who have led a righteous life he will say, Come, ye blessed of my Father.” And in his preface to the second book he said of those who refused to allow to this Gerald the title of saint, because he was neither martyr nor confessor, nor had ever wrought a miracle:§ “They ought to know that the name martyr and confessor might be applied not only to him, but to every one who, in the conflict with sin, has borne his cross, or by good works glorified God; for men confess or deny God by their works, as the sacred Scriptures teach (1 John ii. 3; Rom. ii. 23). But what would they, who, like the Jews, demand miracle, say of John the Baptist, who never performed

* Præloquior. l. I. fol. 15 et 21. ed. Ballerin.

† Facit hoc per servos suos, cum ei placuerit Deus, et cum sit summe bonus, benigne ut bonus. Sermo II. de ascensione, D'Achery, f. 400.

‡ The witnesses of his life, qui signa quidem, quæ vulgus magni pendit, non multa retulerunt, sed disciplinatum vivendi modum et opera misericordiæ, quæ Deo magis placent, non pauca. De vita S. Geraldii, l. I. præf. Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, f. 67.

§ Thus strongly he expresses himself in his zeal for the recognition of the common worth and dignity of Christians: illi qui delirant, quod nec martyr nec confessor valeat dici.

a miracle in his life? For although miracles were not wholly wanting in the life and works of the individual of whom we are speaking; yet to those who ask for them we shall content ourselves with this *one* reply, that the great miracle of his life was his contempt of earthly goods." This correct appreciation of miracles from the properly Christian point of view, this inclination to set a higher value upon the moral power of Christianity, is a trait which everywhere distinguishes the abbot of Cluny. Thus, after having related how Gerald forgave a man who attempted to rob him, and how he made the man a present of that which he intended to steal, he adds, in reference to this trial of patience and love, "His conduct in this case seems to me a greater wonder than if he had turned the thief into a stone."* We discern here the tradition of the genuinely Christian spirit, a tradition whose current flowed steadily through every century, and which enabled many, even in these times of darkness, to apprehend the miracle according to its true Christian sense, for we find like views entertained also by others of this period.† To show that it was possible even for one who was a layman to lead a pious life, Odo composed his biographical account of count Gerald of Aurilly, a man distinguished above those of his own

* Certe mihi videtur, quod id magis admiratione dignum sit, quam si furem rigere in saxi duritiem fecisset, l. I. c. 26.

† So writes the abbot Arnulph of Mentz, in the last times of the tenth century: "Perseverance in good works to the end is more than all miracles." Nec signorum vel miraculorum novitatem plerumque differentiam facere sanctitatis, vel inde patenter ostenditur, quod per malos hæc aliquando fiant, multosque ecclesia summo honore colit, de quibus an uno saltem signo claruerint, reticetur. Vid. Vita Joannis Gorziensis, c. 1. s. 4. Acta Sanctor. 27 Februar. In the letter, in which Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, proposed to pope Benedict IX. the canonization of a certain hermit Simeon, he wrote to him: Non tam signa, quæ fidelibus et infidelibus communia sunt, quam fidei virtus, qua fideles ab infidelibus sequestrati sunt, qua ipse dum adhuc in corpore maneret, plurimum vixit, de ejus sanctitate nos certos reddit. Vid. Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Sæc. VI. P. I. f. 370. And in the Life of Herluin, abbot of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, who lived in the later times of this century, it is said: Referimus miracula, sed eis, unde vulgus fert sententiam, multum pauciora, quanquam non defuerunt et ipsa. Then we find extolled as above all miracles, his perseverance and constancy, amid every trial, in the good resolutions he had once formed: Quid enim gloriosius, quod victus ab eo ubique hostis, Deo vincente succubuit? Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. O. B. Sæc. VI. P. II. f. 346.

order by his diligent and faithful study of the Scriptures,* by his devotional habits, his lively sympathy in all Christian objects, his beneficence, and his gentle treatment of his tenants.† “As this man,” says he, in the preface to his Life, “lived, like Noah, among his contemporaries, according to the law of God, so God has set him apart as a witness to all, that beholding in him an example near at hand of a pious life, others may be awakened to emulation; and that it may not be thought a difficult or impossible thing to observe the divine precepts, when they are seen to be observed by a layman, and a great man of the world.”‡

Such solitary examples and organs of the genuinely Christian spirit as those just described could not, however, oppose any effectual check to the superstition which had fastened itself upon the worship of saints and relics, and other corrupt elements in the doctrine of the church, and which was promoted rather than fought down by the multitude of incompetent ecclesiastics.

But while, on the one hand, the superstition which attached itself to the worship of saints and relics bordered nearly on paganism,§ we may trace on the other the signs of such a re-

* Owing to the feebleness of his health when a child, his parents doubted whether he would be fit to enter the order of knights, and hence gave his education such a direction that in case of necessity he might enter the spiritual order. Thus he may have acquired more learning, as well as occupied himself a longer time in study, than was customary for persons of his class. Unde factum est, ut propemodum pleniter scripturarum seriem disceret atque multos clericorum quantumlibet sciolos in ejus cognitione præiret.

† He was opposed to the cruel punishments, which were still in practice at that time, such as maimings. Odo says of him, l. i. c. 20: Nunquam auditum est, ut se præsentem quilibet aut morte punitus sit aut truncatus membris.

‡ Nec observantia mandatorum Dei gravis aut impossibilis æstimetur, quoniam quidem hæc a laico et potente homine observata videntur.

§ One characteristic example of pagan superstition is the following. While the above mentioned Romuald was residing in France, the report got abroad that he was about to leave that country, when the people proposed, if they could not prevent the execution of his purpose in any other way, to kill him, so that at least they might have the body of the saint as a protection from evil; which Damiani, in his account of his life, calls an impia pietas, c. 4. s. 20. Whenever a person died, who had been particularly venerated and loved on account of his piety, the people soon gathered about his grave to pay him the honour of a saint—see the account of the life of Bardo, archbishop of Mentz, c. 7. s. 69. 10th

action against the worship of saints, as seems to betray a misapprehension or entire disregard of the Christian element at bottom, in the consciousness of the ennoblement of man's nature, by being raised to the fellowship of a divine life; as seems to betray some approach to an abstract Deism. In opposition to this tendency Ratherius, the antagonist of superstition, defended the worship of saints. Some one had taken offence at the hymn sung on the festival of All-saints, particularly at an ex-

June,—and very soon stories began to be circulated of wonderful cures performed on the spot. This was done, not only in the case of ecclesiastics and monks, but also of laymen who stood in high repute for piety; such, for example, as the parents of the above mentioned Bardo. See the Life just cited, s. 1. But these stories about miracles were also circulated by intentional fraud. Vagrants afflicted, as they gave out, with sore diseases, came to the grave of some individual who had died in the odour of sanctity, and throwing themselves down on it, declared themselves suddenly cured, expecting thus to receive a more bountiful alms from the people, who would rejoice to behold such miracles wrought by their saint. In the Life of Godehard, archbishop of Hildesheim, it is related, c. 7. s. 50: *Propter quasdam vanæ mentis personas, quæ in nostra patria usitato more per sacra loca discurrentes, se aut cæcos aut debiles vel elingues vel certe obsessos temere simulant et ante altaria vel sepulcra sanctorum se coram populo volutantes pugnisque tundentes sanatos se illico proclamant ea scilicet sola vesana voluptate, ut sic tantum majorem stipem vel quæstum a plebe percipiant.* The writer of this life mentions the example of an old woman who threw herself down, with her head and face veiled, before the tomb of this archbishop Godehard of Hildesheim, who was already reputed a saint,—and rolling herself about, suddenly stood up, saying she had been cured of a blindness of many years. When the report of this wonderful event had been spread far and wide, the people and the clergy hastened to the spot, among whom was the bishop himself. Already it was proposed to hold a public thanksgiving in the church, when certain villagers from the same town with the old woman, who knew her to be a cheat, testified that she had often been in the practice of playing such tricks. Bishop Godehard used to remark of such cases, that owing to the number of deceivers, even those were not believed who told the truth. *Acta Sanctor. Mai. T. I. f. 517.* As the sale of relics could be made a profitable business, and the news of their arrival in any place immediately brought out the sick in crowds (see the Life of Rabanus Maurus, by his scholar Rudolph, c. 2. *Acta Sanctor. Bolland. Februar. T. I. f. 513*), so this circumstance also was a strong temptation to fraud. Glaber Rudolph gives a remarkable example of a cheat, who roved about the country under different names, with dead men's bones. These, as he pretended, were wonder-working relics, which he had discovered by a revelation from angels; and he made a profitable business of it. *Vid. Hist. l. IV. c. 3.*

pression there used concerning the reign of the saints,* as if it ascribed too much dignity to the saints, and detracted from the honour due to God alone. "It would have been the more proper expression to say, the saints are blessed with God, not that they reigned with him." "As if," said Ratherius, "to be blessed, to reign, to live with God, were not all one and the same thing. The objector might be right, provided only he so understood the sole dominion and sovereignty of God as to place no limits to the free grace of God, which converts vessels of wrath into vessels of mercy, and not only elevates them to the rank of kings, but even makes them partakers of the divine nature."†

But in this period the worship of saints underwent a change, occasioned by the new system of the church constitution. Originally each church had her particular saints, men who had sprung from her own bosom, distinguished for their pious manner of life and death, and for what they had done and suffered for the church; and, therefore, the objects of her special veneration. In course of time it so happened, of its own accord, that many of these, owing to their important position in the development of the church, or to the fame of the miraculous cures performed at their tombs, became the objects of a more general veneration; and that the festivals consecrated to their memory were observed, by degrees, through a wider circle of churches. But it was only in this period, and under the ecclesiastical monarchy of the popes, now completely organized, that the worship of a saint could be introduced at once into the practice of the entire church. Pope John XV. set the precedent for this by a bull, issued in the year 973, which conferred this distinction on bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, who had died twenty years before, and whose pious

* The words were

*Quicumque in alta siderum
Regnatis aula principes.*

† *Quod quidem recte faceret, si singularem Deitatem ejus, regnatum, et potentiam ita pie venerando intelligeret, ut gratiæ miserationi, quæ ex vasis iræ vasa facta misericordiæ tanto ditat munere, quo non reges tantum modo esse et vocari, sed insuper Deos esse et dici ineffabili concedat benignitate, impie invidendo contraire timeret: Præloquior. l. IV. f. 892. ed. Ballerin.* We recognize here, in Rather's obscure and awkward style, the antagonism of a deep-felt Christian Theism to an abstract Deism.

and active zeal in the performance of every part of his official duty assuredly deserved the enduring remembrance of veneration and love. It was done at the motion of Liutolf, bishop of Augsburg, after a report had been read of the life and miracles of Ulrich.* The worship of the saints was defined in this bull as a worship to be paid through them to the Lord of whom they had testified, as an honour to the servants redounding to the glory of their Master, by rendering which, men conscious of the imperfection of their own righteousness might hope to be assisted by the merits and intercession of those whom they adored.† Thus, in the present case, saint-worship was, on the one hand, referred back to its ground in the Christian consciousness, the conviction that Christ himself is represented in the organs which are sanctified by his spirit; while, on the other hand, the immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ was hindered by the intervention of another mediation, supposed to be necessary for men filled with the sense of their own sinfulness. For the most part, however, the worship of saints began, in the first place, with the people, on whom the life of some pious man had made a profound impression; and among whom the fame of the miracles performed at his tomb was generally diffused. If now the bishop sympathized with the enthusiasm of the people for the memory of such an individual, then, by drawing up a report to the pope of his life, his manner of death, and of his miracles, the bishop brought it about that the worship of the saint should be no longer confined to one community, but that his name should be introduced into the list of saints to be honoured and worshipped by the whole church.‡

* The words: *Quatenus memoria Udalrici divino cultui dicata existat et in laudibus Dei diutissime persolvendis semper valeat proficere.*

† *Decrevimus memoriam illius affectu piissimo et devotione fidelissima venerandum, quoniam sic adoramus et colimus reliquias martyrum et confessorum, ut cum cujus martyres et confessores sunt, adoremus, honoramus servos, ut honor redundet in Dominum, qui dixit: Qui vos recipit, me recipit ac perinde nos, qui fiduciam nostræ justitiæ non habemus, illorum precibus et meritis apud clementissimum Deum jugiter adjuvemur.* Vid. Mabillon. *Acta Sanctor. Sæc. V. f. 471.*

‡ Thus it was ordered, for example, by pope Benedict IX., after hearing a report by Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, respecting the hermit Simcon, who died in 1035: *Eundem virum Dei Symeonem, quem Dominus commendat significatione tantarum virtutum sanctitatis*

Among the religious customs universally observed in this period was the use of the consecrated oil on the sick. The first occasion of this custom had been given already in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the method adopted to counteract a superstition which prevailed among new converts, and which was spread by their means. As a substitute for the amulets and forms of incantation, resorted to by the sick, was introduced the anointing of the sick with consecrated oil, accompanied with prayer, according to the direction in James v. 14, 15; Mark vi. Thus, in a sermon ascribed to Augustin,* but belonging perhaps to Cæsarius of Arles, speaking against amulets for the sick, the writer says: "How much better that mothers should hasten to the church, should receive the body and blood of Christ, and, anointing herself and hers, in faith, with the consecrated oil, obtain, according to the words of the apostle James, not merely health of body, but also the forgiveness of sins."† This unction was applied, then, in the first place, in all cases of sickness, and not merely in the last extremity; even the laity performed it on themselves, and on

ac gratiæ plenum ab omnibus populis, tribubus et linguis sanctum procul dubio esse nominandum ejusque natalem singulis annis recurrentem sollemniter observandum ad instar diei festi, nomen quoque ipsius martyrologio sanctorum nominibus suo loco inserendum. This Simeon was the son of a Greek of Syracuse. He became monk in a monastery on Mount Sinai. He became known in the West, during a tour on which he was sent by his monastery to collect alms. In his travels, he had acquired a ready power of expressing himself in five languages,—Coptic, Syrian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. Poppo, archbishop of Triers, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, took him home with him, and he became a hermit near Triers. While he was honoured by some as a saint and a worker of miracles, he was looked upon by others as a wizard. During an inundation caused by rains, the populace suspected him (see above, p. 118) of having brought this calamity on the country, and were for storming his cell. Vid. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Sæc. VI.* P. I. f. 371 et seq.

* In the appendix to Augustin's Works, T. V. f. 279, s. 5.

† So also, in a sermon of Eligius of Noyon (see Vol. V. p. 57): Quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quærantur præcantatores, non divini, non sortilegi, non coragi nec per fontes aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exerceantur, sed qui ægrotat in sola misericordia Dei confidat et eucharistiam cum fide ac devotione accipiat oleumque benedictum fideliter ab ecclesia petat, unde corpus suum in nomine Christi ungat et secundum apostolum oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et non solum corporis, sed etiam animæ sanitatem recipiet. Vid. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* T. II. f. 97.

the members of their household. At a later period this anointing was made a particular function of the sacerdotal office.* Jonas, bishop of Orleans, complains, in his Rules of Christian life for Laymen,† that many, instead of applying, in case of sickness, to the priests, and having themselves or the members of their family anointed with the consecrated oil, according to the apostolical tradition, preferred sending for soothsayers or female fortune-tellers, to consult them about the issue of the disease. At a synod held at Pavia, in the year 850, this custom of priestly unction, especially in mortal sickness, is sanctioned; and it is placed in the same rank with the other sacraments. It was to be bestowed on those only who were deemed fit to receive the communion.‡ In like manner Damiani names, among the twelve sacraments noticed by him, this unction as a means of bodily and spiritual healing;§ a sign of the condescension of divine love to the necessities of feeble man, who must maintain the conflict with sin to the last. Accordingly, the seven sacraments were already recognized in this period; although, owing to the vague conception of the thing, the name was applied to many other religious usages, which, in later times, were excluded.

The judgments of God, which we had occasion to notice in the preceding period, found a point of attachment in the notion of an external theocracy, administered by the priesthood, and of a continued divine interposition by miracles in the guidance of the church. On this principle the archbishop Hinkmar of

* As in the ordinances of Boniface: *Omnes presbyteri oleum infirmorum ab episcopo expetant secumque habeant et admoneant fideles infirmos, illud exquirere, ut eodem oleo peruncti a presbyteris sanentur.* Bonifacii, f. 142.

† *De institutione laicali*, l. III. c. 14.

‡ *Concil. Regiaticin.* c. 8. *Cui enim reliqua sacramenta interdicta sunt, hoc uno nulla ratione uti conceditur.* The extreme unction does not, in this century, appear to have been considered indispensably necessary for every believer. The abbot Adelard of Corbie was asked whether he would receive it, since it was known, *peccatorum oneribus eum non detineri.* He begged for it, and when he had received it, thought he should now be able to die in peace, because he had partaken of all the sacraments. See his *Life* by Paschasius Radbert. s. 8. II. January.

§ *Sermo* 69. T. II. f. 180. *Infirmantibus nobis et usque ad mortem mortali peccatorum febre languentibus spiritus pietatis assistit et recordatus est, quoniam pulvis sumus.*

Rheims defended the *judicium aquæ frigidæ et calidæ*;* and on this principle, too, cardinal Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) seems to have been inclined to favour the judgments of God. Yet not an individual bishop alone (Agobard of Lyons,† who attacked the superstition of his times), but an entire church assembly in France, the third council of Valence, held in 855, declared against the judgment of God by single combat, which had been made legal by the Burgundian code. The custom obtaining, that when opposite statements were given on oath by two parties,‡ it should be decided which oath was according to truth, and which contrary to it, by a duel; this council decreed that whoever contradicted an oath, legally administered by another, should be excluded from the communion of the church, and the same penalty should be incurred by him who killed or maimed another in a duel.§ The person killed should be inhibited, as a self-murderer, from the rites of Christian burial, and from the mass for the repose of souls. The emperor should be requested to banish by law such an enormity from among the faithful.|| Also pope Nicholas I. declared against the judgment of God by duel, when the matter was agitated in the case of Thietberga. "Although sacred history," he wrote to king Charles the Bald of France, "has recorded a combat of this sort, in the case of David and Goliath, yet such combat is nowhere established as a law, and it seems rather to be 'a tempting of the Almighty.'"¶ Atto, bishop of Vercelli, protested especially against the practice of ecclesiastics to make others fight duels for the purpose of vindicating themselves against certain accusations. "By what right," says he, "can the clergy, who are not allowed to carry weapons themselves, get others to fight for them? Never ought they to be the occasion of sin for the sake of clearing themselves from blame. They are bound rather to fight for their brethren, than to get their brethren to fight for

* See his *Opusculum ad Hildegarium episcopum Meldensem*, T. II. opp. f. 676.

† See above, p. 116.

‡ The council calls this *iniquissima ac detestabilis constitutio quarundam sæcularium legum*.

§ *Velut homicida nequissimus*.

|| C. 11 et 12.

¶ *Cum hoc et hujusmodi* (which may be applied to all kinds of judgments of God) *Deum solummodo tentare videantur*. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 273.

them; for the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But how is it possible they should contend with arms against those whom they love, and for whom they should pray?" He expresses himself on this occasion in a way which condemns the judgment of God by duel generally; and, by implication, *all judgments of God whatsoever*. "Often," says he, "we behold in such contests the guilty come off victorious, the innocent overcome. Men should never tempt God by rushing into danger. So the history of Christ's temptation teaches us. Many things doubtful are reserved, to be finally decided at the last judgment."* A peculiar form of the judgment of God, not seldom resorted to, especially by the clergy, was that where the holy supper was used as the ordeal.† The eucharist was received to testify the consciousness of innocence, the recipient invoking upon himself the divine judgment if he were guilty. The pious feelings of a layman were shocked at this desecration of the holiest of rites. King Robert of France (the son of Hugh Capet) protested in the strongest language against it. "What presumption," he writes, "is this, to say to any man who is called upon to prove his innocence, 'Take the body of the Lord, if thou art worthy;' when, in any such sense, no man is worthy?"‡

In respect to the matter of penance, two opposite tendencies, self-castigation on the one side, and the abuse of indulgences on the other, both had their common foundation in the notion, handed down from the earlier centuries, that penitence was a satisfaction paid to divine justice; a notion connected again with the fact that the idea of penitence had not been apprehended in its right relation to the entire work of redemption.

* Non enim Dominus omnia suo præsentì judicio declarat, sed expectat etiam plurima in futurum, ubi illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium. See Atto's *Libellus de pressuris ecclesiasticis*. D'Achery's *Spicil. T. I. f. 416 et seq.*

† So in general, the tendency to associate a magical efficacy with the holy supper, caused its true import to be forgotten, and the ordinance to be desecrated to the service of superstition. The council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, c. 6, felt obliged to pronounce sentence of condemnation on priests who, in a fire, cast the consecrated host into the flames, with a view to quench them by the miraculous virtue of Christ's body.

‡ Cur tu temerario ore et polluto dicas: Si dignus es accipe; cum sit nullus, qui habeatur dignus? Vid. Helgaldi vita Roberti regis in *Du Chesne, Scriptor. hist. Francor. T. IV. f. 64.*

On the one hand were those who expected to satisfy the divine justice by sufferings voluntarily inflicted on themselves; on the other were those who resorted to indulgences as a convenient substitute for the penalties imposed on penitents by the church; and hence, also, for the divine punishments which must otherwise be suffered. According to the more serious or the more easy temperament of the individual, his penance took one or the other of these shapes. In the eleventh century resistance to the prevailing corruption of manners, which produced in Italy, as we have before remarked, the phenomena of a more rigid monkery, gave birth also to a fanatical zeal for the severer exercises of penance. We observe both the former and the latter in the case of Peter Damiani. Through his influence a wider spread was given to that new exercise of penance, self-scourging, a practice which had found admission, at an earlier period, among the monks, and which deserves notice, on account of the important consequences to which it afterwards led. As this new species of penance found violent opponents, who were offended especially at the violation of the moral sense of decorum, Damiani composed extravagant encomiums of the practice, representing it as a voluntary imitation of the sufferings of the martyrs, and of the passion of Christ himself.*

As to indulgence, it still retained the original signification by which it was held to be merely a remission of, or an exchange for, some determinate kind of church-penance; and there was a tendency to resist any arbitrary extension of it, which would be likely to enfeeble church-discipline. Thus the council of Mayence, in 847, decreed that for those who confessed their sins the mode and time of penance should be fixed by the priests, according to the ancient canons, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, or ecclesiastical usage. It rebuked the practice of imposing light and unusual forms of penance for serious offences: it was first making men feel secure in their sins, and then putting under them a pillow of ease.† This council also decreed that a difference should be made between those who needed to undergo only a private pe-

* See lib. V. ep. 8, ad clericos Florentinos, and *Opusculum*, 43, De laude flagellorum et disciplinæ.

† *Faciunt cervicalia sub capite universæ ætatis ad capiendas animas*, c. 31.

nance, and those who, having been guilty of public and notorious offences, ought to be subjected to public ecclesiastical penalties.* And it was also added by this council, that a radical change of life was a necessary part of true penance.† Yet the practice of allowing particular indulgences in compensation for certain external acts; for donations to churches, which it was desired to place at once on a splendid foundation; for certain pilgrimages; for the repetition of a certain number of prayers; for alms-giving—became a fruitful source of damage to the Christian life. As vassals might subject themselves to a judgment of God for their liege-lords, so, too, one man might undertake a penance as the representative of another.‡ The false reliance on such external works, which lulled men to security in their sins, and which was so foreign to the essence of true penitence, this it was which, as we have already remarked, fired the pious zeal of a Ratherius in combating such delusions. Among those who laboured to destroy this false reliance on external works may be reckoned also Jonas, bishop of Orleans. In his “Rules of Christian Life for Laymen,” he rebukes those who, with cold affections, instead of hearts consumed with the fire of love, brought gifts to the altar, repeated many prayers, and distributed many alms, when, in truth, no external act can be well-pleasing in the sight of God unless the inner man is consumed with divine love, and has thus become a temple of the Holy Ghost.§ He rebukes those who were expecting to purchase impunity in sin by works of mercy—works, however, which really did not deserve that name, as they could not have sprung from a right temper of heart.|| “There are many,” says he, “who,

* See Vol. V. p. 191. *Discretio servanda est inter pœnitentes qui publice et qui absconse pœnitere debeant, nam qui publice peccat, oportet, ut publica mulctetur pœnitentia et secundum ordinem canonum pro merito suo et excommunicetur et reconcilietur.*

† *Nec eis sufficiat, si a quarundam rerum perceptionibus abstineant, nisi se etiam a noxiis delectationibus subtrahant, declinantes autem a malo faciunt bonum.*

‡ An example of a boy, who undertook penance to deliver the soul of his deceased master, and upon this condition obtained his freedom, in Baldrich's Chronicle of Arras and Cambray, l. I. c. 46.

§ *De institutione laicali, l. II. c. 17. D'Achery, Spicileg. T. f. 291.*

|| *Quia ad dulcem fructum non proficit, quæ per virus pestiferæ radiceis amarescit.*

deceived by a vain, nay wicked confidence, boldly commit adultery, murder, perjury, and many other crimes; and every such person, when reproached with these crimes, is wont to reply—‘God be thanked! I am blessed with abundant means to purchase indulgence for such sins;’ as if it were possible so to bribe the Almighty as to have it in one’s power to transgress at pleasure his holy laws.”* The same bishop, in adopting the prevalent notion respecting the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrifice of good works for the dead, protests against the doctrine that nothing but that which is given to the priest, nothing but the sacrifice which they present, will meet the divine acceptance. He does not hesitate to ascribe it to the covetousness of the clergy, that such a doctrine had ever been permitted to gain currency.†

Originally each bishop exercised independent spiritual jurisdiction within *his own* diocese, bestowing within it absolution and indulgence. The extension, however, of the spiritual jurisdiction of the popes over all the Western churches would naturally bring about a change in this particular. In the first place it so happened that many, under the compunction of their sins, made the pilgrimage to Rome for the purpose of confessing themselves to the pope, and of receiving forgiveness and comfort by a word from the supposed representative of Peter, which was considered of wonderful potency. It might so happen also, that, in dubious cases, bishops would send their penitents to Rome, submitting the decision of these cases to the pope; or that the pilgrimage to Rome would itself be made one part of the prescribed penance. Occasionally, however, those who had been condemned to a more than usually severe penance would apply to the pope for some remission of the sentence. Thus we find pope Nicholas frequently speaking of it in his letters as an established fact, that transgressors from all countries came daily to Rome, soliciting deliverance, by the pope’s intervention, from heavy temporal punishments, or seeking spiritual assistance and absolution from their sins.‡

* L. c. l. III. c. 10.

† Hoc qui credunt et dicunt, aut ignorantia, aut certe *aliorum persuasione* falluntur. Credibile sane est, quod hæc persuasio, qua simplices id credere et dicere videntur, ex fonte avaritiæ processerit. L. III. c. 15.

‡ In his letter to king Charles the Bald, of France, ep. 20. Concil. T.

The bishops having become satisfied, from many examples, that their spiritual jurisdiction was seriously injured by this practice, and having observed also that these pilgrimages, as we have already remarked, had a bad influence on the moral life, especially when absolution at Rome was too freely dispensed, protested in several individual instances against this extension of the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. We have an example of this in Ahito, bishop of Basle, who, in his capitularies of the year 820 (s. c. 18) decreed that "any who wished to visit Rome for the purposes of devotion, should first confess their sins at home, since they were subject only to the spiritual jurisdiction of *their own* bishop or priest." * So the council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, decreed, in its eighteenth canon—"Since many are entangled in such delusion as to refuse performing any penance imposed on them for a great offence, trusting that in Rome they should be able to obtain from the pope full absolution, let them know that such absolution shall not avail them; but they must first endeavour to perform the penance ordained by their own priests, and then, with the permission of the bishop, they may go to Rome." † But as pilgrimages to Rome had already become the rage, and the papal power had acquired so enormous an ascendancy, such isolated voices could no longer operate as a serious check upon a practice which, under these circumstances, had passed beyond control.

V. f. 235: Ad hanc sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, de diversis mundi partibus, quotidie multi sceleris mole oppressi confugiunt, remissionem scilicet et venialem sibi gratiam tribui supplici et ingenti cordis mœrore poscentes; and ep. 21: Et ab ea non solum animæ, sed et corporis salvationem, ut omnibus patet, humili prece suscipere precantur. And ep. 17, f. 341: Undique etenim venientes admodum plurimi suorum facinororum proditores quantum dolorem inferant pectori nostro plus singultu reminiscimur, quam calamo scribi queat.

* Et hoc omnibus fidelibus denuntiandum ut qui causa orationis ad limina beatorum apostolorum pergere cupiunt, domi confiteantur peccata sua et sic proficiscantur, quia a proprio episcopo aut sacerdote ligandi aut exsolvendi sunt, non ab extraneo.

† So also Gerbert, in the name of Adalbero, bishop of Rheims, ep. 113. Du Chesne, Script. Francor. T. II. f. 816, in reference to Balduin, a nobleman who had been excommunicated for deserting his wife; and for this reason had resorted to Rome. Nihil sibi profuerit, Romam adiisse, Dominum papam mendaciis delusisse, cum Paulus dicat; si quis vobis aliud evangelizaverit præter id quod accepistis, anathema. Estote ergo nobiscum divinarum legum defensores!

In this period three gradations of guilt were established by the church, to include all who were liable to ecclesiastical censure. The first included those who, of their own accord, confessed their sins to the priest, and submitted to the penance which he imposed on them; the second, those who, on account of publicly notorious sins, were excluded from the communion of the church, but presented themselves as penitents before the tribunal of the church, submitted to the public church penance, and, after performing it, were restored to church-fellowship; the third, those who, as was the case with many of the haughty knights and barons, contemned the authority of the church, and refused to submit to the penalties she imposed. These were expelled, with terrible forms of execration, from the communion of Christendom. Accordingly the *excommunicatidn* was distinguished from the *anathema*. Even excommunication was supposed to render the subject of it incapable of performing any civil function; but the anathematized were held to be excluded from *the church and society of Christians*,* to be in the proper sense outlawed. They were not to be allowed to receive the communion even at the hour of death, nor were they to enjoy the privilege of burial according to the rites of the church. The council of Pavia,† in 850, which established this distinction, decreed, however, at the same time, that this extreme means should never be resorted to against the hardened except after special examination, and after having first made trial of every other; nor should such anathema be pronounced against any one without the concurrence of the metropolitan, and without the common decree of all the provincial bishops. Now although such expulsion from the community of believers must have been a terrific engine, considered both on the side of its ecclesiastical and of its political consequences, yet there were haughty monarchs whose defiance the church could not tame, even by this powerful means; and to force their submission she reserved to herself still another—the so-called *interdict*, which fell upon the whole province where the delinquent dwelt, suspending there, till the refractory subject was reduced to the obedience of the church, all the services of public worship.

* Cujusmodi jam inter Christianos nulla legum, nulla morum, nulla collegii participatio est.

† Synodus Regiaticina.

In the earlier centuries, single instances undoubtedly occur, where, to compel the delivering up of a criminal, it was ordered that divine worship should be suspended in an entire diocese; which measure, however, was attended also with much opposition.* Yet it was first in the eleventh century that the more regular employment of such an interdict commenced. Thus, for example, a synod of the province of Limousin,† in the year 1031, made use of it against certain predatory barons who refused to join in the so-called truce of God (*treuga Dei*). A public excommunication was pronounced on the entire province. No person, except a clergyman, a beggar, or a child not above twelve years old, should receive burial according to the rites of the church, nor be conveyed for burial to another diocese. In all the churches divine service should be performed only in private: baptism should be imparted only when asked; the communion should be given only to the dying. No person should be able to hold a wedding while the interdict lasted. Mass should be celebrated only with closed doors. A universal mourning should prevail; the dress and mode of living should wear the appearance of a general penance, of a continuous season of fasting.‡ Now although there might be individual cases of haughty potentates, whose very rudeness or savage passions would place them beyond the reach of every religious impression; yet, as a general thing, such a measure could not fail to have its effect on the minds of men, and those who were not sensible of its effect on their own feelings, yet saw themselves compelled to submission by reason of the impression it produced on the people at large.

* Even in the tenth century Gerbert, ep. 10. f. 830. l. c. *Agit Abraham cum Deo, utrum in Sodomis perdere debeat justum cum impio et tu pastor non dubitas addicere pœnæ noxium simul et innoxium?*

† Concilium Lemovicense II.

‡ Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 542. The acts of this council are here, for the first time, published in full.

SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

I. IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

As in the first centuries it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity should gradually penetrate the entire intellectual life of the *cultivated nations*, before a new spiritual creation, striking its root in the forms of the Grecian and the Roman culture, which Christianity appropriated, could in those forms completely unfold itself, so after the same manner it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity, which in the preceding period had been introduced into the *masses of the untutored nations*, should gradually penetrate their whole inward life, before a new and peculiar spiritual creation could spring out of it, which should go on to unfold itself through the entire period of the middle ages. And the period in which we now are must be regarded as still belonging to the epoch of transition from that old spiritual creation, which flourished on the basis of Grecian and Roman culture, to the new one, which proceeded wholly from Christianity, as apprehended by this rude stock of the human family. We may contemplate this period under two distinct divisions—the *beginning*, comprising the time during which the influence of those elements of culture introduced to the Carolingian age still continued to be felt; and the conclusion, when, after a night of barbarism in the eleventh century, that new mental life awoke, out of which, carried to its highest form, proceeded the grand, peculiar creation of the scholastic theology in the following centuries. In the ninth century laboured in the Frankish church those men who were indebted for their culture to the Carolingian age, and by whom the elements of learning, which had then been collected, were handed over to this period. The predominant tendency of these times was to amass toge-

ther the materials preserved by tradition, often without any elaboration of them by active thought. Men confined themselves to the exposition of the sacred Scriptures—to the handling of dogmatical, ethical, ecclesiastical subjects, to extracts from the older church-fathers; yet there were a few individuals distinguished for originality of mind. Augustin and Gregory the Great were the church-teachers most studied. Augustin, in particular, had a mighty influence in giving direction to the dogmatical and ethical spirit of the most important church-teachers; though, in truth, it was the practical far more than the speculative element in the Augustinian spirit which here bore sway. Hence the antagonism offered by a Claudius of Turin and an Agobard of Lyons, to the sensuous direction of the religious spirit, to superstition, and to a worship composed of ceremonies; for, as we remarked in the preceding period, it was through Augustin that the Catholic element on the one hand, but the reaction of the Christian consciousness against it on the other, was transmitted to the succeeding centuries. The most efficient instrument in the work of educating teachers for the Frankish church was Magnentius Rabanus Maurus,* a scholar of Alcuin, who, like his master, moulded the age in which he lived, and who belongs, as one of the great teachers, to the same series with Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin. The interest of devotion, and a desire to acquaint himself, by personal observation, with the localities of sacred writ, induced him, in his younger days, to visit the holy spots of Palestine, as we learn from his own words in his commentary on Joshua,† where he speaks of having often been in the district of Sidon.‡ President of the convent school, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Fulda (from the year 822), he founded here the most important seminary for the teachers of the German and Frankish church, whence proceeded a Walafrid Strabo, a Servatus Lupo, an Otfrid of Weissenburg. After having presided over this abbey twenty years, he, in 842, retired for seclusion

* Born A.D. 776, died A.D. 856.

† Published in the *Collectio amplissima veterum scriptorum* of Martene et Durand. T. IX.

‡ Ego quidem, cum in locis Sidonis aliquoties demoratus sim. l. c. f. 728.

to St. Peter's church, near Fulda,* where he devoted his leisure to literary labours, connected with the interests of religion and theology, till he was drawn from this seclusion in 847, and translated to a wider field of labour, by being made archbishop of Mentz. His writings, which together brought into more general circulation many excellent things from the older times, and which breathed and diffused a warm spirit of practical Christianity, relate to the exposition of the Old and New Testaments, to dogmatical and ethical subjects, and to practical theology (*De Institutione clericorum*, libri III.). It deserves to be noticed, that he boldly opposed the hierarchical spirit which countenanced the rebellion of the sons of the emperor Lewis the Pious against their father—a dark spot on the fair fame even of an Agobard. This we see in the letter with which he sent his Collection of Scriptural Passages, on the virtues and vices,† to that emperor, where he contrasts the proud and rebellious temper with the humility and gentleness which Christianity requires; and refers to the example and the doctrines of Christ and of the apostles to illustrate the respect due to all authority, as founded in the ordinance of God; also in a remarkable letter of consolation addressed to this emperor,‡ where, having brought together the commands of holy Scripture respecting the obedience due from children to their parents, and from subjects to their rulers, he adjures the emperor not to suffer himself to be persuaded that, by the public confession of his sins, he had rendered himself incapable of the government, since by such confession he had, on the contrary, obtained for himself the grace of God. He should despise a false tribunal, and be assured that the kingdom of God was his so long as he united faith and good works in his life. Though in this vale of tears he might be wronged by the intrigues of perverse and wicked

* His scholar, the abbot Servatus Lupus, writes to him on this subject (ep. 40): *Audivi sarcinam administrationis vestræ vos deposuisse e rebus divinis solummodo nunc esse intentos.*

† His tract *De virtutibus et vitiis*, published by Wolfgang Lazius in the Collection: *Fragmenta quædam Caroli Magni aliorumque incerti nominis de veteris ecclesiæ ritibus*, Antverp. 1560, in which tract, however, the prefixed letter addressed to the emperor Lewis is the most important document.

‡ Which Baluz has appended to the first book of his edition of *Petrus de Marca De Concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, of the year 1669.

men, yet he should not mind this, but only give thanks for all to the Lord Jesus Christ, his deliverer and advocate, who chastens those whom he loves."

Raban's friend, the bishop Haimo of Halberstadt, who proceeded from the same school, belongs also among the number of those who, by their expository writings, earnestly laboured to advance the study of the Bible. A work, however, which had greater influence than other writings of this kind on the following centuries; not so much on account of its intrinsic contents, as on account of the very convenient manner in which it adapted itself to the ordinary theological wants of all such as were not profoundscholars, was the short explanatory remarks which Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Richenau,* following for the most part his teacher, Rabanus Maurus, compiled on the sacred Scriptures, and which formed the common exegetical manual of the middle ages, known as the *Glossa Ordinaria*. A man of far greater theological importance, as an expositor of Scripture, was Christian Druthmar, in the ninth century, who had received his education in the French monastery of Corbie.† He first gave lectures on the exposition of the New Testament to the young monks in the monasteries of Stavelo and Malmedy, in the diocese of Liege. In this way

* See above, p. 133.

† In a passage in his commentary on Matthew, Fabricius, it is true, supposed he found the marks of a later time, but this passage is by no means decisive. The passage referred to is on Matth. xxvii. 7, where he says, concerning the place in Jerusalem there designated, *Modo ipsi locus hospitale dicitur Francorum ubi tempore Caroli villas habuit, concedente illo rege pro amore Caroli. Modo solummodo de eleemosyna Christianorum vivunt et ipsi monachi et advenientes. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XV. f. 169. Col. I.* But under these circumstances, under the dominion of the Saracens, such a change might easily have taken place, in a very short time after the death of Charles, and of the Caliph his friend, Haroun al Raschid (A.D. 808), as the Benedictines (*Hist. lit. de la France*) rightly remarked. Its relation to the ninth century is plainly shown, moreover, in the remarkable passage respecting the spread of Christianity, c. 55. f. 158, l. II.: *Nescimus jam gentem sub cœlo, in qua Christiani non habeantur, nam et in Gog et in Magog, quæ sunt gentes Hunnorum, quæ ab eis Gazzari vocantur, jam una gens, quæ fortior erat ex his, quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa est, et omnem Judaismum observat. Bulgarii quoque, qui et ipsi ex ipsis gentibus sunt, quotidie baptizantur.* Compare what has been said before, respecting the spread of Christianity and Judaism among the Chazars, and of Christianity among the Bulgarians, p. 434.

he was led to write out, as he had been invited to do, an elaborate commentary on the gospel of Matthew ; and it is singular to observe, in an interpreter of Scripture belonging to these times, the revival of the hermeneutical principles of the Antiochian school, which direction, in favour of the grammatical interpretation of the Bible, no doubt acquired for him the surname of Grammaticus. He declared himself, in the preface to this commentary, opposed to a one-sided, arbitrary, mystical exposition of the Bible ; and maintains that the spiritual explanation of Scripture presupposes the exploration of the literal, historical sense.* Under the most unfavourable circumstances, in conflict with many difficulties, and in the midst of many affairs of a foreign and extraneous character, which, contrary to his own inclination, he had to administer, under the then existing political and ecclesiastical relations, Servatus Lupus, abbot of the monastery of Ferrieres (in Gâtinois, Isle de France), laboured with great diligence to promote the study of letters, which, in this district, had sunk to the lowest ebb.† His letters evince the assiduity of his zeal in procuring from Rome, and from the abbey of Fulda, manuscripts of the ancient Roman authors, as well as of the ancient Latin fathers. By the study of the former he attained to uncommon skill in the Latin language.‡

Among the distinguished teachers of the church, in the ninth century, we may reckon Jonas, bishop of Orleans, the worthy successor of the excellent Theodulf.§ At the request of Count Mathfred, who wished to obtain from him a system of rules to direct a married layman how to lead a pious life and enjoy the divine approbation, he composed his Rules of Christian life for laymen,|| which, while particularly adapted to the wants of those times, was opposed to the prejudices then prevailing in

* Irrationabile mihi videtur, spiritalem intelligentiam in libro aliquo quærere et historicam penitus ignorare, cum historia fundamentum omnis intelligentiæ sit et ipsa primitus quærenda et amplexanda et sine ipsa perfecte ad aliam non possit transiri.

† He complains, ep. 34 : Nunc literarum studiis pæne obsoletis quotusquisque inveniri possit, qui de magistrorum imperitia, librorum penuria, otii denique inopia merito non queratur?

‡ Vid. ep. 91 et ep. 103.

§ See above, p. 132.

|| De Institutione laicali libri tres, published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his *Spicilegium*.

favour of an outward Christianity of forms, and to the immoral tendencies so widely spread among the higher orders. He strenuously maintained that the law of Christ, the *Concilia evangelica* excepted, was given not merely for the clergy, but for all believers. He exposed the error of those who flattered themselves that, being Christians, they would be saved by their faith, in spite of a vicious life, by clearly setting forth how faith, without the works of faith, could profit nothing.* He strongly and pointedly rebuked the nobles, who, in pursuing the pleasures of the chase, trampled in every way on the rights of the poor, pretending that they were entitled to this privilege by the civil laws, when, if they were believers, the law of Christ ought to have more weight with them than the laws of the world.† “Let who will,” says he, “flatter those who do such things, and promise them impunity, I dare flatter no man, I dare tell no man he is secure.” He rebukes the inhuman treatment of servants, and reminds their masters that the servants have the same common nature and dignity with themselves, that they have the same common Master in heaven.‡ In opposition to those who held that men could pray nowhere but in churches, and in the presence of relics, he says it is man’s privilege and duty to pray everywhere to the omnipotent God; nor does church confession exempt any man from the obligation to confess his sins before God in prayer, and with contrition of heart.§ Bishop Jonas composed also a shorter work, containing rules of Christian life for princes,|| and designed for the son of the emperor Lewis the Pious, the young king Pipin of Aquitania.¶

Although the prevailing drift of the theology in those schools which sprung up as the later offspring of the Carolingian age, was the practical theology derived partly from the Bible, and partly from church traditions, yet some germs also are to be

* L. I. c. 20.

† L. I. c. 23. *Miserabilis plane et valde deflenda res est, quando pro feris pauperes a potentioribus spoliuntur, flagellantur, ergastulis detru duntur et multa alia patiuntur.*

‡ L. II. c. 22.

§ L. I. c. 14 et 15.

|| *De Institutione regia.*

¶ In his letter, dedicating this book to the king, he gives him much useful advice, warning him against the undutiful conduct shown by his brothers towards their father, with which he had not, at that time, had anything to do.

discovered of a more dialectical tendency ; as, for example, in the abbot Fredegis, who proceeded from Alcuin's school at York ; and who, in his speculative inquiry concerning "nonentity" ($\tau\acute{o} \mu\eta \acute{o}\nu$), followed this direction. In this work he attributed the highest place in all investigations to reason (ratio), subordinating authority to this.* In his controversy with archbishop Agobard of Lyons this Fredegis appears, however, as a champion of the church orthodoxy, and both took the same broad licence in fixing an uncharitable interpretation on each other's doctrines. It deserves to be noticed that Agobard, in defending himself in this controversy against the objection, that he imputed faults of language to the Holy Spirit, and in combating the position that being the author of the gift of tongues, the Holy Spirit must have taught the apostles the purest Greek, he came very near to the point of separating, in the idea of inspiration, the divine from the strictly human elements, though he did not proceed far enough to arrive at a full development of the subject.† This dialectical and speculative direction of theology spread especially from the seclusion of the Irish monasteries, which were still the seats of science and art, whence, and for a long time afterwards, owing to the migratory and enterprising spirit of the people, as well as to the scanty means of sustenance in the country, teachers in the sciences and useful arts scattered themselves in all directions.‡ And as in the Irish church,

* *Primum ratione utendum, in quantum hominis ratio patitur, deinde auctoritate, non qualibet, sed ratione duntaxat, quæ sola auctoritas est solaque immobilem obtinet firmitatem.* Baluz. Miscellan. T. I. p. 404.

† He calls it an absurd position, *ut non solum sensum prædicationis et modos vel argumenta dictionum Spiritus Sanctus eis inspiraverit, sed etiam ipsa corporalia verba extrinsecus in ora illorum ipse formaverit.* He affirms, on the contrary, *nobilitatem divini eloquii non in tumore et pompa esse verborum, sed in virtute sententiarum*, as the kingdom of God consists not in word but in power. Agobard. *Advers. Fredegis*, in his works ed. Baluz. T. I. p. 177.

‡ In the 10th canon of the synod at Chiersy (Synodus Carisiaca) A.D. 858. c. 10. *Hospitalia peregrinorum sicut sunt Scotorum.* In the tenth century Scoti Sancti peregrini. Labbe, *Bibliotheca Ms.* T. I. f. 678. In the same century we meet with a learned man, bishop Israel, from Ireland, teacher of Bruno, afterwards archbishop of Cologne. He had read Prudentius while yet a boy. See his *Life* in Leibnitz, *Scriptores rerum Brunsv.* T. I. f. 275. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, studied the Christian philosophy, as his biographer relates (*mens. Maj.* T. IV, f.

from the time of its origin a bolder spirit of inquiry had been propagated, which, in the preceding period, had caused many a reaction against the church system of the papacy; as in the Irish monasteries not only the Latin, but also the more free-spirited Greek church-fathers, the writings of an Origen were studied; so it naturally came about that from that school issued a more original and free development of theology than was elsewhere to be found, and was thence propagated to other lands.* The Irish monasteries produced *one* remarkable man in particular, who may be considered the representative of this tendency; and in whose productions generally we see exhibited an intellectual world quite foreign from the age in which he lived. This was John Scotus Erigena, who found in France, at the court of that zealous promoter of the sciences king Charles the Bald, a welcome reception.

On the peculiar shaping of the philosophical and theological views of this individual, his study of the Greek—not barely according to the general practice in that age, of the Latin—church-fathers, had, without doubt, exerted an important influence; and the ideas of an Origen, a Gregory of Nyssa, of a Maximus, as well as of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, had manifestly stirred his spirit in its depths; and he had appropriated many of their thoughts. The ideas scattered in those writings, respecting a chain of life emanating from God, respecting the antithesis of a negative and a positive theology, respecting the relation of things natural to things divine, respecting a general restoration; all these ideas profusely scattered in those writings we find in him systematically elaborated and combined; and what he says on these matters is not seldom supported by proofs drawn professedly from the works of the church-teachers above mentioned. From the

348) in his youth chiefly from books of Irishmen, "*horum libros rectæ fidei tramitem philosophantes diligenter excoluit.*" Even in the first half of the eleventh century, works of Irish art, being the most beautiful, were sent as presents to the emperor, *transmarina et Scotica vasa, quæ Regali majestati singulari dono deferebantur.* See the Life of Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. VI. P. I. f. 205.*

* In a letter of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, published by Baluz, it is intimated, that it was usual to regard as peculiar to Ireland or Scotland a certain dialectical direction of theology. In reference to the doctrine of the Trinity, *Apud modernos scholasticos maxime apud Scotos iste syllogismus delusionis.* Vid. Baluz. *miscellan. T. V. p. 54.*

same writings, also, the elements of the New Platonic philosophy passed over to him; and it is the idea lying at the basis of the New Platonic philosophy, respecting the evolution of all existence from an Absolute, as the *ὄν*, and respecting evil as the *μὴ ὄν*, which we here find repeated as one of the predominating ideas. Carried out with logical consistency, his principles led to an altogether pantheistic system of the world—the world nothing other than the necessary form of the manifestation of the Absolute, which, transcending all representation, all predicates, all knowledge,* incomprehensible to itself, can be known only in its forms of manifestation—and to this pantheistic view of the world corresponds also his doctrine of sin; as, in fact, the opposition between the pantheistic and the theistic view of the world must at this point stand forth practically with the most striking prominence. But besides this speculative and mystical pantheism, there was within him still another powerful element, which ruled *him* as well as his age, the element of Christian theism, to which he attached himself, not merely, so to express it, from motives of outward accommodation; but which had gained a powerful hold on him by means of his early training, and the course of his inward experience, as well as the life of his time. We are unwilling to doubt that he poured many a devout and earnest prayer to a redeeming God for inward illumination, and that he diligently sought for it in the sacred Scriptures,† though his conceptual apprehension of the divine Being seems

* According to the doctrine of Philo, of the Neo-Platonists, of the Gnostics, of the Hindoos, of Buddhism.

† His words: *Hinc assidue debemus orare ac dicere: Deus nostra salus atque redemptio, qui dedisti naturam, largire et gratiam, præstende lumen tuum in umbris ignorantiae palpantibus quærentibusque te, revoca nos ab erroribus, porrige dexteram tuam infirmis, non valentibus sine te pervenire ad te, ostende te ipsum his, qui nil petunt præter te, rumpe nubes vanarum phantasiarum, quæ mentis aciem non sinunt intueri te eo modo, quo te invisibilem videri permittis desiderantibus videre faciem tuam, quietem suam, finem suum, ultra quem nihil appetunt, quia ultra nihil est, summum bonum superessentiale.* De Divisione naturæ, l. III. f. 111. And in another place, *O Domine Jesu, nullum aliud præmium, nullam aliam beatitudinem a te postulo, nisi ut ad purum absque ullo errore fallacis theoriæ verba tua, quæ per tuum Sanctum Spiritum inspirata sunt, intelligam, ibi quippe habitas et illuc quærentes et diligentes te introducis.* l. V. f. 306.

to exclude any such relation of man to God, as prayer presupposes.

The prevailing bent of the theological spirit of that age was to cling, as we have remarked before, to the authorities of the church tradition; but *he* was for founding a system of truth which should repose entirely on rational insight, approve itself as true by an inner necessity of reason. Yet even according to his apprehension, the rational and the church-traditional theology, faith and knowledge by reason, philosophy and religion, did not stand in contradiction, but in perfect harmony with each other. For, said he, a man can elevate himself to the knowledge of God, which is the end of true philosophy, only by following the mode and manner in which God, who in his essence is incomprehensible and unknowable, letting himself down to the condition and wants of humanity, which is to be educated, has revealed himself; God in his forms of revelation, in his Theophanies. After this manner God presents himself in the historical development of religion, through the authority of the church; but true philosophy, which rises above the Theophanies to the Absolute itself, which soars beyond all conceptual apprehension, gives insight into the laws, according to which God must be known and worshipped. True philosophy and true religion are therefore one. Philosophy, veiled in the form of tradition, is religion; religion, unveiled from the form of tradition by rational knowledge, is philosophy. Philosophy is the theoretic side of religion, religion the practical side of philosophy.* In the order of time, as it respects the development of the human knowledge of divine things, the authority of tradition, it is true, and the faith grounded therein, comes first, since man's spirit needed this training and guidance in order to acquire the power of raising itself to the knowledge of the divine; but in the order of conception, the objective truth of reason (*ratio*) is the first. Revelation and tradition presuppose truth in itself, and the former is only the way of man's attaining to the latter. This knowledge of reason is therefore the end after which the

* Quid est aliud de philosophia tractare, nisi veræ religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa Deus et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam. J. Scot. de divina prædest. c. I.

spirit ought to strive, wherein alone it can find its satisfaction. The faith of authority, not supported and upheld by a rational knowledge of the truth, is a feeble thing. Hence, in investigating the truths of faith, men should show, in the first place, what admits of being proved as truth on grounds of reason, and then examine how they can be harmonized with the testimonies of ecclesiastical tradition.* And, starting from this position, he could admit also the Augustinian principle concerning the relation of faith to knowledge, though we must allow he departed from the principle of Augustin so far as this, that he did not recognize the limits set by the latter to the knowledge attainable by reason, nor acknowledge anything as valid on the ground of authority alone, and if it did not admit of being demonstrated as necessary, from reason itself. His position would necessarily exclude such mysteries of faith as could not be established on rational grounds.

That which represented itself to his feelings as transcending comprehension, he interpreted to his thought as the logical absolute, which is prior, in the order of thought, to all antitheses, which is above all antitheses, which, being the *ground* of all things, is moreover *opposed* to all things. Thus it stands related to all opposites, even to that of good and evil, for evil itself cannot be conceived without the good;† and this absolute of logical abstraction he substitutes in place of the idea of the living God, which vanished from his grasp in his attempts to avoid all anthropopathism. The absolute of logical abstraction, by a singular mixture—found ever recurring, however, in the history of the human mind—of dialectical and mystical tendencies, received out of that which transcends conception in the sphere of the feelings, a substantial matter which was foreign to it, and superinduced upon it; and thus

* Prius ratione utendum ac deinde auctoritate. Auctoritas siquidem ex vera ratione processit, ratio vero nequaquam ex auctoritate, omnis autem auctoritas, quæ vera ratione non approbatur, infirma videtur esse. Vera autem ratio, quum virtutibus suis rata atque immutabilis munitur nullius auctoritatis adstipulatione roborari indiget. l. I. f. 39.

† Contrariorum quoque causa est, virtute siquidem eorum, quæ vere ab eo condita sunt, etiam quæ contraria videntur esse. et privationes essentia sunt, ratio vera contineri approbat. Nullum enim vitium invenitur, quod non sit alicujus virtutis umbra aut quædam fallaci similitudine aut aperta contrarietate. l. I. f. 38.

an enthusiasm could be awakened for the emptiest of all conceptions.

He distinguished, on this ground, a twofold kind of knowledge; knowledge of the absolute in itself, of the essence of God, concerning which man can know only the *fact*, not the *how* or the *what*, in which man must negate everything that may be predicated of it, whether it be an attribute or an action; and the knowledge of God in his revelation, in the Theophanies, in which *everything* may be predicated of him symbolically. Accordingly, there is a twofold standing ground of the knowledge of God, the *θεολογία ἀποφατικῇ*, and the *θεολογία καταφατικῇ*, the former representing God under manifold symbols, the latter rejecting all predicates of the ineffable essence of God as inadequate. The disciple, to whom John Scotus represents himself as teaching these doctrines in his work *De Divisione naturæ*, is startled at the thought that of God, neither love nor being loved, neither action nor being acted upon, could be predicated. With how many passages of sacred Scripture did this assertion stand in contradiction! What occasion of stumbling must it present to the simple, when even the ears of those who are esteemed wise must be shocked at such a doctrine! * But the teacher quiets him by explaining that as the sacred Scriptures undoubtedly contain the most perfect self-revelation of divine truth, † a not arbitrary, but—for the position of a created spirit—necessary *symbolism* of the self-revelation of the Absolute; so, in order to speak in the right manner of God, it is necessary to adhere uniformly to the mode of representation in the Scriptures; but at the same time we should keep in mind that the Scriptures, by various symbols, come to the aid of human weakness, that they supply man matter of thought for the nourishment of his faith in the incomprehensible and inexpressible. ‡ By all these

* Videsne quot et quantis frequentibus Scripturæ sacræ obruar telis? Nec te latet, quam arduum difficileque simplicibus animis talia suadere, quandoquidem eorum, qui videntur esse sapientes, dum hæc audiunt, aures horrescunt. l. I. f. 37.

† In ea veluti quibusdam suis secretis sedibus veritas possidetur.

‡ Quibusdam similitudinibus utitur, infirmitati nostræ condescendens, nostrosque adhuc rudes infantilesque sensus simplici doctrina erigens. In hoc enim divina student eloquia, ut de re ineffabili, incomprehensibili aliquid nobis ad nutriendam fidem nostram cogitandum tradant. l. I. f. 37.

various means it is precisely and only the transcendent excellence of God's essence; an essence infinitely exalted above all which, taken from things created, can be attributed to it, that is meant to be indicated. Even the name Love can be attributed to him only by a metaphor, since he is more than Love, since, in all his attributes, he does but produce himself, or rather he is all in all.* So, again, creation is not to be attributed to God as an act; but by the expression—God is the creator of all things, it is affirmed rather that God is all in all, as he alone truly is, and all true being in everything that exists, is himself.†

He distinguishes from each other four kinds of being: 1. That which creates and is not created. 2. That which is created and creates (the divine patterns grounded in the Logos, the causæ prototypæ). 3. That which is created but does not create, effects in created things. 4. That which neither creates nor is created. The first and the last may be applied in different senses to God, as may be gathered from the developed idea of the creation; since the idea, God created all things, and God is all in all, in strict propriety exactly coincide; and the end of the course of the world, to be attained by means of the redemption, is that all should return back again to the original, archetypal being in God.‡ The doc-

* Thus leaning towards the pantheistic view, though his Christian consciousness does not allow him to give up wholly the idea of a self-subsistent, creaturely personality, he explains Matt. x. 20, as meaning that the same may be said also of God's relation to his reasonable creatures: *Non vos estis, qui amatis, qui videtis, qui movetis, sed spiritus patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis veritatem de me et patre meo et seipso, ipse amat et videt me et patrem meum et seipsum in vobis et movet in vobis seipsum, ut diligatis me et patrem meum. Si ergo seipsam Sancta Trinitas in nobis et in seipsa amat, et videt et movet, et a seipsa in seipsa et in creaturis suis amatur, videtur, movetur.* l. c. f. 44.

† *Cum audimus Deum omnia facere, nil aliud debemus intelligere, quam Deum in omnibus esse, hoc est, essentiam subsistere. Ipse enim solus per se vere est, et omne quod vere in his, quæ sunt, dicitur esse, ipse solus est.* l. I. f. 42.

‡ *Prima et quarta forma unum sunt, quoniam de Deo solummodo intelliguntur; est enim principium omnium, quæ a se condita sunt et finis omnium, quæ eum appetunt, ut in eo æternaliter immutabiliterque quiescant. Quoniam ad eandem causam omnia quæ ab ea procedunt, dum ad finem pervenient, reversura sunt, propterea finis omnium dicitur et neque creare neque creariperhibetur, nam postquam in eam reversa sunt omnia, nil ulterius ab ea per generationem loco et tempore generibus*

trine of the creation may be reduced, according to Scotus, to the pantheistic idea that the Absolute has veiled and revealed itself under the forms of the finite—the Absolute in its Theophanies; the infinite become finite, the one subject under manifold accidents.*

If now the whole universe may be considered as a Theophany, it follows from this, by logical necessity, that everything occupies in it a necessary place of its own; and that for one who contemplates the world according to this view there is no such thing as evil. God's knowledge is the revelation of his essence, one and the same with his willing and his creating. As evil cannot be derived from the divine causality, neither can it be considered as an object of divine knowledge; on the contrary, for God it has no existence.† Evil exists just and only for that mode of contemplation which apprehends the individual and particular as existing for itself, independent of its connection with the whole. The good cannot exist

et formis procedet, quoniam in ea omnia quieta erunt et unum individuum atque immutabile manebunt. Vid. l. II. f. 46. Dum vero divinam naturam esse finem omnium intransgressilemque terminum, quem omnia appetunt et in quo limitem motus sui naturalis constituunt, conspicio, invenio eam neque creatam esse neque creantem. A nullo siquidem creari potest natura, quæ a seipsa est neque aliud creat. Quid creabit, dum ipsa omnia in omnibus fuerit et in nullo nisi ipsa apparebit. l. V. f. 311.

* Dum incomprehensibilis intelligitur, per excellentiam nihilum non immerito vocitatur, at vero in suis theophaniis incipiens apparere, veluti ex nihilo in aliquid dicitur procedere.—Et creatura in Deo est subsistens et Deus in creatura mirabili et ineffabili modo creatur, seipsum manifestans, invisibilis, visibilem se manifestans, et incomprehensibilis comprehensibilem, accidentibus liber accidentibus subjectum, et infinitus finitum, et omnia creans in omnibus creatum et fit in omnibus omnia. A God becoming creature, which must be distinguished from the incarnation of God in Christ. Neque hoc de incarnatione verbi atque inhumanatione dico, sed de summæ bonitatis, quæ unitas est et trinitas, ineffabili condescensione in ea quæ sunt, ut sint, imo ut ipsa in omnibus sit. l. III. f. 126 et 127.

† Cognoscendo facit et cognoscit faciendo, nihil est aliud omnium essentia, nisi omnium in divina sapientia cognitio. To this he refers the words of St. Paul: In God we live, and move, and have our being. l. II. f. 63. Deus malum nescit, nam si malum sciret, necessario in natura rerum malum esset. To this he refers those passages of Scripture where it is said of the wicked, that God knows them not. l. II. f. 83 et 84. l. V. f. 259.

without the antithesis of the evil; the foil on which it produces itself, and becomes known.*

This furnished foothold for *another doctrine*, that sin in individuals may be but a transition point of evolution, and thus subservient to the revelation of the good; that it will, finally, so result in the creation of God, who is all in all, when that creation is purified from all evil;† his doctrine of restoration, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The system of Scotus, however, lay too remote from the intellectual bent of his times to find any acceptance whatever, either for the true or the false ideas which it contained. When, by participating in a particular doctrinal controversy, his peculiar opinions came forth in striking contradiction to the dogmatical interests of the church, it was this alone which gave occasion to his being stigmatized as heretical,‡ yet without any correct understanding, on the part of his opponents, of the aim and tendency of his system, which first became clearly known by its influences and effects in later centuries.

As we have just remarked in the case of John Scotus, the writings that sprung up in the Greek church, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, became important by transmitting certain elements of Platonic Christianity from the earlier centuries, and awakening a peculiar, intuitive bent of the theological spirit. These writings came first to the West in the year 824, as a present of the Greek emperor Michael II.

* How foolish, exclaims the disciple, must this doctrine of the relation of God to his creatures appear to common men, from want of a right understanding: *Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus, et usque ad extremas hujus mundi visibiles turpitudines et corruptiones procedat, ut ipse etiam in eis sit, si in omnibus est*; to which the teacher replies, he who speaks thus, knows not, *nullam turpitudinem in universitate totius creaturæ posse esse, quod enim partim contingit, in toto fieri Deus non sinit*. l. III. f. 129. *Quid melius est, quam ut ex oppositorum comparatione et universitatis et conditoris omnium laus ineffabilis comparetur?* *Omnia, quæ in partibus universitatis mala, inhonesta, turpia ab his, qui simul omnia considerare non possunt, judicantur, in contemplatione universitatis veluti totius cujusdam picturæ pulchritudinis neque turpia neque inhonesta neque mala sunt*. l. V. f. 275.

† *Peccata et iniquitates tamdiu esse videntur, dum nihil sint, quamdiu subjecta natura contineantur, ea vero purgata, quæ per subsistere nesciunt, ad nihilum penitus rediguntur ita ut non sint*. l. IV. f. 163.

‡ Compare, on this subject, the profound and spirited essay of my friend H. Vogt.

to the emperor Lewis the Pious. The latter valued the gift the more since he had not a doubt that Dionysius the Areopagite was precisely the same person with the Dionysius who was considered the founder of the church at Paris. It did not once occur to him that there might be another Dionysius.* He had the Dionysian writings translated into Latin, under the direction of Hilduin of St. Denis, in whose abbey, consecrated to this saint, the Greek manuscript was deposited.† To St. Denis the emperor felt himself indebted for many favours. It was in the church of St. Denis he had received absolution, and been reinstated in his government.‡ He was, therefore, desirous of honouring his memory by a new and more complete collection of the facts relating to his history; and he commissioned the abbot Hilduin to prepare such a work.§ Hilduin, glad for the honour of his abbey to humour this confusion of names and of persons, confirmed the emperor in his mistake, and propagated it to posterity by that uncritical collection of facts relating to the life of Dionysius, which he published in the year 836. Others, however, perceived the error, and offered to correct it: but they were repelled by Hilduin with an acrimony which perhaps betrayed a secret consciousness of the truth.|| The French king, Charles the Bald, afterwards ordered a new translation of this work to be

* So it appears from a letter of this emperor to Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, in the *Actis Sanctor.* of Surius, T. V. f. 634.

† The emperor writes to him about the translation of those books: *Auctoritatis nostræ jussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicati.*

‡ He says, in his letter to the abbot Hilduin: *Per merita et solatium patris nostri Dionysii recreati et restituti sumus cingulumque militare judicio auctoritate episcopali resumimus.*

§ We find these Areopagitica of Hilduin, with the letter to the emperor prefixed, in the above cited volume of the *Act. Sanct.* of Surius, f. 653 et seq.

|| The writings of Gregory of Tours, still much read, might easily expose this mistake; and so it really turned out. Hilduin says, concerning those who followed this clue: *Super garrulitate levitatis eorum miranda defecimus; he calls them contentiosos, sciolos;—charges them with arrogantia, usurpata scientia.* To be sure, many of these opponents erred also by confounding Dionysius the Areopagite with the bishop Dionysius of Corinth—see Neander's *Planting and Guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles*, Vol. II. p. 460, orig. ed.—and this laid open a weak spot, which Hilduin was sure to take advantage of. See l. c. f. 638.

made by John Scotus;* and also humoured this confusion of names.† But pope Nicholas I. harboured a suspicion against this translation, on account of the current reports respecting the erroneous doctrines of its author;‡ and in a letter addressed, in 865, to king Charles the Bald, in which he claimed for the popes a right of supervision over the publication of all works of intellect,§ he required that this work in particular, on the ground of the suspicions against its author, should be sent to him, that so, if he found nothing in it objectionable, it might be published with the papal approbation, and thus find a more general and extensive circulation.||

Thus Dionysius the Areopagite came to be considered the patron saint of France, and thus the writings published under his name obtained in this country so much the wider circulation and greater authority; and from France they were disseminated in other countries. To the fresh and youthful spirit of the western nations, just awakened to life, these writings, by means of the spiritual elements they contained, arising from the fusion of New Platonism with Christianity, gave an impulse which invested them with an importance they never could have acquired from any intrinsic worth of their own.

In England the seeds of science, which had been scattered by Theodore of Canterbury, Bede, and Alcuin, had for the most part perished amid the devastation occasioned by the piratical inroads of the Danes in the ninth century. The literary treasures collected together in the monasteries had in

* See the letter of John Scotus, with which he sent the translation prepared by him to the king, in Jacob. Usserius veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge, p. 41.

† Yet, after citing the older authentic accounts of Dionysius the Areopagite, he says, in reference to the fabulous stories concerning his journey to Rome, and his mission afterwards to France by the bishop of Rome, that this was not reported by those ancient authors, but by aliis moderni temporis.

‡ Thus he says, in his letter to king Charles the Bald: Cum idem Joannes licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur, olim non sane sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore diceretur.

§ He says, for instance, of this book, Quod juxta morem nobis mitti et nostro debuit judicio approbari.

|| Itaque quod hactenus omissum est, vestra industria suppleat et nobis præfatum opus sine ulla cunctatione mittat, quatenus dum a nostri apostolatus judicio fuerit approbatum, ab omnibus incunctanter nostra auctoritate acceptius habeatur.

part been destroyed with the monasteries themselves, while, on the other hand, there were few men capable of understanding books written in the Latin tongue. Out of this new barbarism the English nation was delivered by the thirty years' reign of that great man, who, while he exhibited the example of a genuine Christian king, contributed so much to the spiritual as well as political regeneration of his people, Alfred the Great.* As Christian piety was the soul of his own life, so he was profoundly convinced that the culture of his people must proceed from Christianity; and as Christianity begat in his own case an interest for mental development in all directions, so he laboured in earnest to promote it among his people. He assembled the few learned men that were still to be found in the English monasteries; others he called around him from Ireland, from the old British church in Wales, from France, and Germany; and these he promoted to the highest spiritual stations. It was his favourite recreation to hear such persons read before him, for his instruction, off-hand translations of Latin books into English; and he made a collection of pithy sayings from the sacred Scriptures and the older church-teachers, which he had learned and remembered from these oral translations. The great pleasure he derived from these occupations finally induced him, when in his thirty-sixth year, to learn Latin,† for which purpose he placed himself under the instruction of one of the pious and learned men whom he had drawn around him, the monk Asser of Wales, whom he afterwards made bishop of Sherburn.‡ His plan for the education of the people was more extensive than the one drawn up by Charlemagne, for it embraced not only the clergy and monks, but also the people of every class and order. He perceived that the seeds of culture in England had so easily perished, because the instruction had been derived solely from Latin books, as he tells us in his preface to the translation prepared by himself of Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*; and to avoid this for the

* From the year 871 to 901.

† See Life of Alfred (f. 17), in William Camden's *Scripta Anglica, Normannica, etc.* Francof. 1603.

‡ To him we are indebted for the beautiful life of Alfred, *De rebus gestis Alfredi*, which he commenced writing when the king was forty-five years old.

future, he took care that the books designed for the more general education of the laity should be translated from Latin into the English tongue, and that not only schools should be founded for giving instruction in the Latin language, but others also, in which all should learn to read and write in English, and be instructed out of English books. He himself translated several works into English, such as Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, and Bede's ecclesiastical history. It was his earnest wish, as he said in the letter which went with his translation of the *Regula pastoralis* to the bishops, that the English, like the Greeks and Latins, might have the law of God in their own language.* Had this plan of a Christian education of the nation, independent of the Roman language, been further prosecuted according to the views of the great Alfred, a reaction against the Roman church-system would doubtless have proceeded at a much earlier period from the English church; but this was only a transitory appearance, barbarism and ignorance returned again upon the church until the time of archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, who brought about a reformation of the clerical and monastic orders, the consequences of which continued to be felt even amid the disorders occasioned by the new inroads of the Danes. One of the bishops who backed the efforts of Dunstan to promote a reformation, and who continued to labour on in the same spirit, was Ethelwold of Worcester, deserving of honourable notice on account of his exertions to advance the cause of schools† and to promote the vernacular Anglo-Saxon as well as the Latin literature.‡ From the

* Venit mihi in mentem, legem Dei primum in Hebræo sermone fuisse inventam, atque postea Græcos, cum eandem didicissent, eam universam et alios insuper omnes libros, in suam linguam vertisse, nec non Latinos etiam, quam primum ipsi eam intelligentia comprehendissent, per prudentes interpretes suo sermone eandem expressisse, quapropter optimum censeo, ut nos libros aliquos, quos maxime necessarios arbitramur, qui ab omnibus intelligantur, eosdem in linguam, quam omnes intelligunt, convertamus, ut omnis juvenus gentis Anglicæ literis addiscendis addicatur utque prius artem nullam imbibant, quam Anglica poterint scripta perlegere. The original is in Anglo-Saxon.

† See above, p. 88.

‡ As may be gathered from Elfric's words, in the preface to his Anglo-Saxon grammar, where he says, Sicut didicimus in schola venerabilis Æthelwoldi, qui multos ad bonum imbuit. Vid. Anglicæ sacra. Londini, 1691. P. I. f. 130.

school of this excellent man proceeded monk Elfric of Malmesbury, distinguished for his zeal in advocating the Christian education of the people, and Christian knowledge generally, who flourished in the early times of the eleventh century. He earnestly sought, as his sermons in the Anglo-Saxon language and his other works * evince, to advance the study of the sacred Scriptures, particularly among the clergy; † and in his sermons he presented the scriptural history of Mary in opposition to the later fables. But at the same time that he was an enthusiastic admirer of archbishop Dunstan as a reformer of the clerical order, ‡ he was also a zealous champion of the law for the celibacy of priests against those ecclesiastics who endeavoured to defend the marriage of priests by arguments drawn from the Old and New Testaments; thus furnishing another proof of the connection of the hierarchical tendency in this age with the interest in favour of culture.

That age of destruction and barbarism, the tenth century, was one of universal ignorance. A few scattered individuals only, by their zeal for theological knowledge and their scientific attainments, formed a contrast to the general rudeness spread around them, as for example the two men of whose activity in various relations we have already spoken, Ratherius of Verona and Atto of Vercelli. Ratherius was born in the neighbourhood of Liege. Amid many conflicts and sufferings which partly the barbarism and rudeness of the times, partly his own abrupt and violent temper, drew on him, he still reached a good old age. He lived from 890 to 974, as bishop of Verona, and afterwards, when expelled from his church, at Liege. In his fortieth year he composed, in his prison at Pavia, his *Præloquia*, a work containing moral rules and counsels for all orders of men and relations of life, as well as severe rebukes of the vices and abuses which prevailed in

* See the extracts in *Usserii historia dogmatica de scriptura et sacris vernaculis*, ed. Wharton. Londini, 1690. p. 377.

† In the case of laymen, he seems to have dreaded too much the misapprehensions of ignorance to undertake a translation of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament, for their use into the vernacular tongue, though he gladly made use of that language for instruction. See his preface to the translation of *Genesis*, which he began at the request of a nobleman who wished to possess the sacred Scriptures, l. c.

‡ *Vid. l. c. f. 377*, his account of the ignorance prevailing in the monasteries down to the reformation by Dunstan.

them.* He deserves in many respects to be styled the Tertullian of his time. Bishop Atto obtained celebrity as a theological writer by his commentary on St. Paul's epistles, a work containing many original thoughts.†

Yet precisely at the time when the consciousness of universal disorder called forth, in the eleventh century, the expectation of the speedy destruction of the world,‡ was evolved the germ of a new spiritual creation, from which proceeded afterwards the great intellectual productions of the church of the Middle Ages. In France, the beginnings of a new enterprise for the restoration of letters and science were made by Gerbert, a superintendent of the bishop's school at Rheims, § and by Abbo of Fleury. The seed fell upon a propitious soil. Gerbert's scholar, Fulbert, founded and directed, in the eleventh century, a flourishing theological school at Chartres, in which was given also a great variety of preliminary instruc-

* Published first in the *Collectio amplissima* of Martene and Durand, T. IX.; then in the first complete edition of his works by the brothers Ballerini. Verona, 1765.

† His works, first published by count Buronti at Vercelli in 1768.

‡ At the beginning of the eleventh century after the birth of Christ, partly the conviction that a great period of time had now come to its close, and partly the disorder and barbarism prevailing in all parts of Western Christendom, besides many remarkable natural phenomena, excited an expectation of the last judgment. Men looked forward with great excitement to the advent of Christ. The pious enthusiasm produced a spirit of emulation in ornamenting churches and building new ones. See Glaber Rudolph, *hist.* l. III. c. 4. This writer says: *Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet rejecta vetustate passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret.* This excitement received a new impulse again, when in the year 1033, at the commencement of the second thousand years after Christ's passion, men celebrated the memory of Christ's resurrection and ascension. A vast multitude made the pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, first people of the lower class, then of the middle class, next kings, counts, and bishops, last of all noble ladies, with others of lower condition. Many longed to die on the holy earth, before they could return to their native country. l. IV. c. 6.

§ See above, p. 32. Gerbert sprung from a family of low condition in or near Aurillac in Auvergne. When abbot of Bobbio near Pavia, to which place he was promoted by the emperor Otho I., he first had an opportunity of collecting books, and diffusing a taste for learning. His zeal in promoting these objects is apparent from his letters, published in the most complete form by Du Chesne, *Script. rerum Francicar.* T. II. *vid.* ep. 2, 8, 44, 130; on his scientific journey to Spain, ep. 45.

tion in different sciences, and which was visited by young men from the remotest parts. As bishop of Chartres he still continued zealously to promote these efforts in behalf of science. Fulbert's worthier, and in mental gifts superior disciple Berengarius, exerted himself as a canonical priest and superintendent of a school at Tours, with powerful effect, to stir up among the clergy a zeal for science, the seeds of which he scattered with a liberal hand. The youth from all parts of France gathered around him. His frank and courteous manners attracted to him the young, and the poor he supplied with the means of support.* From Pavia, Lanfranc came to France, and by him the monastic school at Bec in Normandy was converted into a seat for the revival of letters.† This new scientific life soon took, however, a different direction from that in the Carolingian age; instead of pursuing the track of church tradition and practical theology, it started on another more dialectical and speculative. The awakening spirit became conscious of its power, and turned inward upon itself rather than upon the objects without it, even as Christianity points more directly to the inner world of the spirit. Now, as from the very outset men followed the principle of Augustin, that the sole business of reason was to unfold and defend the data furnished by church tradition, the substantial matter of faith, so this new dialectical tendency could not fall into collision with the faith of the church. But we may also remark a freer tendency of inquiry, such as we shall find exhibited in the case of a Berengarius (see farther on); and between these different tendencies a conflict was inevitable: which should be the predominating one was a point to be decided. A spiritual ferment had begun, and it was from what should come forth as the result, that the theological spirit of the age was to receive its fixed and settled character.

* This is said even by a fierce opponent of Berengar, Guitmund, archbishop of Aversa, in the first book of his work *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate*, though, to be sure, from his own point of view, he describes him as a corrupter of the youth, "egenos scholasticos, jam per alimoniam, qua sustentabat eos, et per suos dulces sermones corruptos." *Bibl. patr. Lugdun. T. XVIII. f. 441.*

† An author of this time, Guitmund, says in his work, *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate*, concerning Lanfranc: cum per ipsum liberales artes Deus recalescere atque optime reviviscere fecisset. *Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 441.*

In Germany, also, the newly-awakened spirit gave signs of its presence; and it is remarkable, that here a special zeal was shown for the promotion of a more general study of the sacred Scriptures. As already, in the first part of this century, Notker, a monk of St. Gall, distinguished from two other earlier individuals of this name by his surname Labeo, had published a *German* paraphrase of the Psalms, so in the latter part of the same century, Williram, master of the cathedral school at Bamberg, afterwards abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria, composed a German version and exposition of Solomon's Song. In the preface to this work he complains that the study of logic and grammar was thought sufficient, that of the sacred Scriptures being wholly neglected, when, in truth, Christians should study the books of the pagans only for the purpose of marking the contrast between light and darkness.* He expresses his delight to find that Lanfranc, in France, had passed from logic to the study of the Bible, and was expounding the epistles of St. Paul and the Psalms, and that many flocked to hear him even from Germany, so that the benefit of his labours might yet be felt in the German church.† Thus the German mind, even at so early a period, presented the antagonism of the scriptural against a one-sided dialectical tendency.

As it was only at those two points of time in this period, the ninth and the eleventh centuries, that any degree of intellectual or scientific life seemed to exist in the church, hence, too, it was only at these conjunctures that a conflict of theological antagonisms could make its appearance; and it was to these conjunctures, therefore, the doctrinal controversies belong, which we shall now have to explain.

The cause of the controversy on the doctrine of predestination, or respecting the true sense of the Augustinian scheme, is to be traced to the results of the disputes on this subject which we explained in the second period. The Augustinian doctrine of grace had, it is true, finally gained a complete

* Nam et si qui sunt, qui sub scholari ferula grammaticæ et dialecticæ studiis imbuuntur hæc sibi sufficere arbitrantur, divinæ paginæ omnino obliviscuntur, cum ob hoc solum Christianis liceat gentiles libros legere, ut ex his quanta distantia sit lucis ac tenebrarum, veritatis et erroris possint discernere.

† See the edition of this work by Dr. Hoffman, Breslau, 1827.

victory even over Semi-Pelagianism, but on the doctrine of predestination nothing had as yet been publicly determined. So it now happened that, although all were agreed in recognizing Augustin as the teacher of orthodoxy, and though his doctrine of all-efficient grace was generally received as the true doctrine, yet the doctrine of absolute predestination, in its naked and sterner form, appeared to many repulsive; not as though such persons would have dared, with any clear consciousness of design and in distinctly defined conceptions, to depart from the doctrine of Augustin, and in particular to concede to man's free-will, in relation to grace, more than the Augustinian scheme allowed. The influence which Augustin exercised over the dogmatic mode of thinking of the age was so great, that no man would venture on this; and the interest of the Christian consciousness in favour of the doctrine concerning grace was so strong, that it could not but be feared lest this doctrine would be endangered, should anything be distinctly conceded to man's free-will, as conditioning the operation of grace. But the Augustinian scheme was brought to view more prominently in its practical than in its speculative aspect; men occupied themselves more with the doctrine of grace than with the doctrine of the antithesis of predestination and of reprobation, following in preference that milder way of apprehending this doctrine which we remarked in the work *De Vocatione gentium*. Thus these two modifications of the scheme, a milder and a sterner one, went side by side. The less practised this age was in the analysis of conceptions, the less accustomed to clear and well defined thought, the more given men were to rhetorical amplification, the more easily might they deceive themselves by different modes and formulas of expression, and confound a difference in the latter with a difference of conceptions. Thus it could happen, that a man whose religious and doctrinal education had proceeded from Augustin and his school, might suppose he had detected in the milder form of expression prevailing in his times, an open defection from the pure doctrine of Augustin and a leaning to Pelagianism, and might feel himself called upon to stand forth against such a defection—and a champion of this character could hardly fail, by his more abrupt and harsh forms of expression, to give offence to many of his contemporaries. Such a person was the monk Gottschalk, from

whom the controversies on this subject in the ninth century proceeded.

Sprung from a Saxon family, he had been presented by his parents (oblatus) to the monastery of Fulda, for the purpose of being trained there to a life devoted to God, in monachism. Here he eagerly devoted himself to the customary studies of the place, in pursuing which the bond of friendship was knit between him and the afterwards renowned Walafriid Strabo.* But Gottschalk, showing in this the independence of his spirit, longed to be freed from the shackles to which he was subjected when a child; and he obtained from a church-assembly held at Mentz, in the year 829, a release from the obligations of his monastic vow. But the then abbot of Fulda, Rabanus Maurus, appealed from this decision to the emperor Lewis the Pious, placing in his hands a document drawn up for the purpose, in which he attempted to prove that all oblats were bound to perpetual obedience. The decision was reversed; perhaps Rabanus was thus prejudiced already against Gottschalk. To the latter, after such excitement, his residence in this monastery could no longer be agreeable: he repaired to France, and entered the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons; there he applied himself assiduously to study, and especially to the study of Augustin and the church-fathers of his school. The doctrine of an unconditional predestination held the most important place in his Christian life as well as thoughts. It seemed to him closely connected with the Christian idea of God, and with a right conception of the immutability of the divine will. In general he was fond of exercising his mind on speculative and doctrinal questions. In reference to this his friend, the abbot Servatus Lupus, to whom he had propounded several questions about the intuition of God in the future life, suggested by some remarks of Augustin which he found it difficult to understand, wrote to him—"I exhort you, my brother, no longer to perplex your mind with such matters, lest, by studying them more than is befitting, you lose the energy and the time which might be expended in investigating or teaching more profitable things; for why inquire so eagerly into that

* See his poem to Gottschalk in *Canisii lectionis antiquæ*, ed. Basnage. T. II. P. II. f. 354.

which, perhaps, it may be of no use for us at present to know? How can we imagine that with souls still burdened and clogged with the remains of sin, we should be able perfectly to understand that ineffable intuition of God?"* He exhorted him, instead, to search more deeply into the inexhaustible treasures of the sacred Scriptures, and ever to seek humbly in them the light of God's countenance. Thus if, under the sense of their present condition, they forbore searching after that which was above their powers of comprehension, divine grace would lead them ever onward to higher attainments, and God might deign to reveal himself to their purged vision.† Gottschalk's zeal for the doctrines of Augustin, and perhaps too in the particular form in which they are found in Fulgentius,‡ acquired for him the surname Fulgentius. §

The peculiarity in the doctrine of Gottschalk consisted in this—that he applied the notion of predestination not merely, as was commonly done, to the pious and to salvation, but also to the reprobate and to everlasting punishment. He affirmed a *prædestinatio duplex*, by virtue of which God decreed eternal life to the elect, and the elect to eternal life; and so also everlasting punishment to the reprobate, and the reprobate to everlasting punishment; for the two were inseparably connected.¶ This doctrine seemed to him important, because it enabled him to hold fast the unchangeableness of the divine

* Te, suspiciende frater, exhortor, ut nequaquam ultra in talibus tuum ingenium conteras, ne his ultra quam oportet, occupatus, ad ulteriora vestiganda sive docenda minus sufficias. Quid enim tantopere quæramus, quod nobis nosse necdum forsân expedit? Certe divinitus illustrata mens Deo loquitur, Is. lxiv. 4: "Oculus non vidit, quæ præparasti expectantibus te." Et nos illius ineffabilis visionis plenissimam rationem complecti animo concretis vitiorum sordibus adhuc gravato desideramus?

† In amplissimo scripturarum campo interim spatiemur, earumque meditationi nos penitus totosque dedamus, faciemque Domini humiliter, pie ac semper quæramus. Ejus erit clementiæ, ut dum considerata nostra condicione, altiora nobis non quæramus nec fortiora scrutamur, nos ad sublimiora et robustiora sustollere purgatisque nostræ mentis obtutibus, quibus videri posse revelavit, semet ipsum dignetur ostendere. ep. 30.

‡ From whom he may have borrowed particularly the term *prædestinatio duplex*.

§ With which Strabo addresses him in the above mentioned poem.

¶ Gottschalk's words are: Nimirum sine causa et reprobatis prædestinasses mortis perpetuæ poenam, nisi et ipsos prædestinasses ad eam.

decrees, and their entire independence of all that takes place in time. In reference to the works of God, foreknowledge and foreordination are one; his knowledge being one with his will, and this will creative.* To him the thought seemed revolting that reprobates, of all others, should be able ever to produce a change in the divine counsels.† Gottschalk departed here from the more usual phraseology in the school of Augustin; since it was customary to distinguish the reprobate by the name *præsciti*, from the predestinate (*prædestinatis*), chosen to salvation; and, in so doing, men were governed, without doubt, by an interest which they felt to hold fast the idea of divine justice in the punishment of the wicked, and to exclude the notion that God was in any sense the author of sin. It was the same interest which led Augustin to assume as his starting position, that by the sin of our first parents the whole race of mankind became liable to a just condemnation, and to look upon that first sin as a free act; yet Augustin had not always made use of this distinction, while Fulgentius of Ruspe and Isidore of Seville had already employed the phrase *prædestinatio duplex*. There would have been no essential difference between Gottschalk's doctrine and the original one of Augustin, if the former had not been induced by his zeal for consistency in apprehending the doctrine of absolute predestination, to go even beyond the fact of the first sin, and to represent the state of our first parents also as not conditioned by their own free self-determination, but as the necessary fulfilment of an unconditional divine decree, which planned and ordered the history of mankind from the beginning. And assuredly it may be inferred from the fact that Gottschalk completely identifies God's foreknowledge and predestination, from the fact that he considers all foreknowledge in God as creative, that he made no distinction between an act of will, an act of creation, and an act of permission, on the part of God; and consequently his view would coincide with the one

* *Apud omnipotentiam idem præscire quod velle*; see the longer confession of Gottschalk, in *Mauguin veterum auctorum de prædestinatione et gratia opera et fragmenta*, T. I. p. 10.

† He says, in his characteristic language: *Vere, Domine, satius incommutabiliter fuisset, si nullus nisi te mutabili (nedum mutato) creatus esset (ne dico salvatus), electorum, quanto magis absit, ut immuteris propter vasa iræ.*

just expressed, and which was afterwards known by the name of the Supralapsarian system. But still it cannot be proved that with clear consciousness he carried his principles to this extent; for whenever he expressed himself in the way above described, he was speaking expressly of God's relation to *his own works* alone;* among which works he certainly did not consider sin. As to sin, he considered the punishment of it only by the divine justice as a work of God. He referred God's predestination not to sin, but only to good, but foreknowledge to sin and good at the same time;† and goodness, as an object of the divine predestination, he defined as twofold; the blessings of divine grace, and the decisions of divine justice.‡ Here he presupposes, with Augustin, partly that wicked spirits fell by a trespass of their own free-will; partly, that the whole human race sinned in Adam, and shared his guilt. Thus it is impossible to discover, at least in anything which Gottschalk wittingly and distinctly expressed, the least deviation in his doctrines from the Augustinian scheme.

Once on returning, in the year 847, from a pilgrimage to Rome, Gottschalk, at a *hospice* erected for pilgrims by count Eberhard, of Friuli, fell in with Notting, the newly-elected bishop of Verona, and there laid before him his doctrine of twofold predestination. That bishop met soon after, at the court of Lewis the Pious, Rabanus Maurus, not long before elected archbishop of Mentz, and conversed with him on this doctrine, which, to Rabanus, appeared extremely offensive. The latter promised to send him a written refutation of it. Rabanus composed two tracts in opposition to Gottschalk's doctrine, one addressed to bishop Notting of Verona, the other to count Eberhard. In these writings he manifests great excitement against Gottschalk; he takes the liberty to put the worst construction upon his language; and perhaps in the acrimony with which he speaks of him and against him, we may descry the effect of the bitter feelings which had arisen

* He says expressly: *Sempiterna cum præscientia voluntas tua de operibus duntaxat tuis, Deum præscisse ac prædestinasse simul et semel tam cuncta quam singula opera sua.*

† *Credo atque confiteor, præscisse te ante sæcula quæcunque erant futura sive bona sive mala, prædestinasse vero tantummodo bona.*

‡ *Bona a te prædestinata bifariam, gratiæ beneficia et injustiæ judicia.*

out of their earlier relations to each other. At the same time, however, the heat with which he writes in these letters may have proceeded, in great part, from a true interest for Christian piety; and we may suppose that he was the more annoyed at hearing this doctrine of absolute predestination so sharply and sternly expressed, because, on the ground which he himself had chosen, he could not avoid, but only conceal these offensive points. He accuses Gottschalk of asserting that the divine foreordination places every man under constraint, so that although he may want to be saved, and may strive after it with true faith and good works, he still labours in vain if he has not been predestined to salvation. Assuredly, nothing could be more remote from the intention of Gottschalk, a man who, though full of zeal for his doctrine, was yet discreet; and by no means inclined to insult the moral feelings by asserting anything like this. Assuredly he considered the grace, whereby man is converted and sanctified, as the operation by which, in relation to man, the divine decree of predestination reveals itself. Gottschalk assuredly was very far also from teaching, as Rabanus charges, a predestination of man to evil and to good; for we have observed already how he resisted and guarded against the supposition that evil could come from God. In like manner it may be doubted whether what Rabanus reports concerning the practically injurious effects of Gottschalk's doctrines—that by means of them some were misled into a feeling of false security, others to despondency—refers to actual facts, which indeed is possible, or whether it was only a statement derived from the older accounts concerning the predestinationists.

As to the doctrines of Rabanus Maurus himself, he supposes the decrees of God, in reference to sin, conditioned on his foreknowledge: he does not suppose it to be, like the decree of predestination, an unconditional decree; and hence was it a matter of great importance with him to distinguish foreknowledge and predestination; the *præsciti* and the *prædestinati*. He expressed himself as follows: God predestined those whom he foreknew as the wicked to everlasting punishment; but he would not say that God predestined them to everlasting punishment. He considered it also of the greatest practical moment to hold fast that God would have all men to be saved; that Christ died for the salvation of all: but with this

he joined also the assertion that by the sin of Adam, in whom all sinned, all deserved to be punished everlastingly; and in this way he supposed he should remove from God the causality of the sin and the destruction of those who are left to their own chosen ways.* It is true, that of this general mass, all deserving alike to experience the same fate, those only attained salvation to whom God, after the eternal counsels of his own will, imparted the needful grace, producing in them true conversion. Even unbaptised children remained exposed to the common, deserved fate belonging to them by virtue of inherited sin, and the common guilt, since they are not saved by God's mercy through the grace of baptism.† But in answering the question, how the different conduct of God towards those whom he left to their deserved fate, and towards those whom he saved from it, could be reconciled with faith in the holiness and justice of God; in answering this question he got along by referring to a secret divine counsel, and to the incomprehensibleness of the divine dealings; men should hold fast to that only which is placed beyond all doubt to faith in God's holiness and justice, and not seek to fathom that which is incomprehensible. "If you want to know of me why God, with whom there is no respect of persons, still makes these two differences, since universally either justice must punish or mercy acquit, then judge with Paul, or, if you dare do it, correct him, when he says, 'O man, who art thou,' etc., Rom. ix. 30."‡

* He says, in reference to God, in his second letter to the bishop Notting, ed. Sirmond., p. 35: Cui nullo modo fas est ea quæ ab hominibus male aguntur, adscribi, qui in proclivitate cadendi non ex conditione Dei, sed ex primi patris prævaricatione venerunt. De cujus pœna nemo liberatur, nisi per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, præparatam et prædestinatam in æterno consilio Dei ante constitutionem mundi.

† Qui præsciti sunt non propriis voluntatibus, quorum nullæ vel bonæ vel malæ sunt, nisi tantum in Adæ peccato, quod traxere nascentes et in hoc manentes solverunt tempus vitæ præsentis. Quid enim justitia de iis faciat, quibus misericordia non subvenit, qui pura fide credit Deo dicente Domino Jo. vi. 54, intelligit et a contentione recedit. From this application of the passage, it is clear that the necessity of the communion of infants was not yet acknowledged.

‡ Quod si a me quæris scire, cur duas istas differentias Deus faciat, si personarum acceptor non est, quia generaliter aut punire debet justitia aut misericordia liberare, contende cum Paulo, immo si audes argue Paulum, qui dicit Christo in se loquente Rom. ix. 30. Ego autem hoc

Thus Rabanus Maurus shrunk, it is true, from everything that might throw the least shadow of an appearance of the causality of sin upon God, above all, from what might seem to impugn the doctrine of God's holiness and justice; yet he did not show how it was possible to avoid the consequences flowing out of his own presuppositions, but could only lay down the contrary positions, while he appealed to the incomprehensibleness of the divine perfections. Nor did he venture to make the least actual departure from the scheme of Augustin; expressing himself for the most part in such propositions as he had borrowed and compiled together from the writings of Augustin and Prosper. In this beginning of the controversy we see marked beforehand the whole succeeding course of it; it was not a dispute of ideas, but only of harsher or milder forms of expression.

When the letter of Rabanus to the bishop Notting came to be communicated to Gottschalk, he was much surprised to find himself thus treated as a teacher of error. He believed that, instead of deserving such treatment himself, he should be able to convict Rabanus, in his own letter, of Semi-Pelagian principles, and to show that he was a disciple of Gennadius rather than of Augustin.* Perhaps with the hope of coming to some understanding on the contested points with the archbishop Rabanus, he repaired, in the year 848, to Mentz, where he fearlessly appeared before the chiefs of the spiritual and secular orders, at an assembly, held under the archbishop, in presence of the king of Germany. He handed over to that prelate a writing, in which he explained and defended his own peculiar views concerning the twofold predestination. He controverted the position, that, when it is said God will have all men to be saved, this ought to be referred to all in the absolute sense, and to include the reprobate; and so, too, that Christ

dico quod dixi, quia quicquid Deus agit, misericorditer juste sancteque facit, quia solus ipse præsciendo scit quod homo nesciendo nescit, l. c. p. 39.

* See the words of Gottschalk, addressed to Rabanus, in Hinkmar's work on predestination, c. 21, f. 118, in reference to the doctrine of free will: Unde te potius ejusdem catholicissimi doctoris (Augustini) malueram auctoritate niti, quam erroneis opinionibus Massiliensis Gennadii, qui plerisque præsumsit in locis tam fidei catholicæ quam beatorum etiam patrum invictissimis auctoritatibus, infelicis Cassiani perniciosum nimis dogma sequens reniti.

came into the world to save all, in the absolute sense ; that he suffered for all absolutely. All this he would have understood as limited to the elect ; for the will and counsel of the Almighty God, that is, in reference to redemption, he supposed must be absolutely fulfilled in fact, and could be referred to those only in whom it went into absolute fulfilment.* Yet, however precisely he might express himself on this point, still he said nothing but what Rabanus must also be obliged to concede ; for although the latter was continually dwelling on such propositions as that God will have all men to be saved, Christ died for the salvation of all, yet he took away again the substance of these propositions, by teaching that those only would be actually saved on whom God bestowed the necessary grace to qualify them for this salvation ; and that this was done only in the case of the elect. We must allow he had only himself to blame for this contradiction, by making his appeal to a secret, incomprehensible decree of God.

But Gottschalk had no reason to expect a calm hearing, and an impartial trial from this assembly. The word of Rabanus Maurus here was law. Gottschalk's doctrine was condemned as heretical ; and, as no definitive sentence could be passed by this judicature upon his person, since he belonged to another diocese, he was sent to the archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims, with a letter from Rabanus Maurus, calling upon Hinkmar, as Gottschalk's ecclesiastical superior, to prevent his going about, and to render him harmless for the future. Hinkmars summoned him before one of the customary mixed assemblies of the orders, held in the presence of the king, at Chiersy, in 849 ; and as, instead of retracting, he boldly defended his doctrine, this conduct was, in all probability, most

* In Hinkmar, c. 24, f. 149 : *Omnes quos vult Deus salvos fieri sine dubitatione salvantur nec possunt salvari, nisi quos vult Deus salvos fieri nec est quisquam, quem Deus salvari velit et non salvetur, quia Deus noster omnia quæcunque voluit, fecit* ;—and c. 27, f. 211, he distinguishes : *Illos omnes impios et peccatores, quos proprio fuso sanguine filius Dei redimere venit, hos omnipotens Dei bonitas ad vitam prædestinatos ir retractabiliter salvari tantummodo velit* ;—and then : *Illos omnes impios et peccatores, pro quibus idem filius Dei nec corpus assumpsit, nec orationem nec dico sanguinem fudit, neque pro iis ullo modo crucifixus fuit* ;—and c. 29, f. 226 : *Deus nullius reprobatorum perpetualiter esse voluit salvator, nullius redemptor et nullius coronator.*

unjustly construed as obstinacy against his lawful superiors. He was accused of treating the bishops with contempt, and, contrary to the calling and character of a monk, of interrupting the deliberations on affairs of church and state; though the interruptions which he may have occasioned in the assemblies at Mentz and Chiersy was a thing for which he certainly was not chargable in the least; he only gave public testimony of that which he had found to be the truth, and which he believed himself able to prove by the declarations of Scripture, and of the older church-fathers. Yet on the wretched foundation of such charges he was not only declared a teacher of error, but also condemned to be whipped, and then to be imprisoned in another monastery.* This sentence was executed; Gottschalk was inhumanly scourged, till, forced by pain, he was constrained to cast into the flames the writing he had composed in defence of his doctrine; a document which contained nothing but a compilation of testimonies from Scripture, and from the older church-teachers.† He was then confined in Hautvilliers, a monastery belonging to the diocese of Rheims. The voices which now rose in favour of Gottschalk induced

* The sentence drawn up by Hinkmar, after forbidding him to exercise the priestly functions, proceeds as follows: *Insuper quia et ecclesiastica et civilia negotia contra propositum et nomen monachi contemnens conturbare jura ecclesiastica præsumsisti, durissimis verberibus castigari et secundum ecclesiasticas regulas ergastulo retrudi auctoritate episcopali decernimus*; and in a letter, in which Hinkmar gives an account of these transactions, in the *Libellus Remigii et ecclesiæ Lugdunensis de tribus epistolis*, c. 24, in *Mauguin vindiciæ prædestinationis et gratiæ pars altera*, pag. 107, he says himself: *Ut arreptitius* (like one possessed), *cum quid rationabiliter responderet, non habuit, in contumelias singulorum prorupit et propter impudentissimam insolentiam suam per regulam sancti Benedicti a monachorum abbatibus vel cæteris monachis dignus flagello adjudicatus. Et quia contra canonicam institutionem civilia et ecclesiastica negotia perturbare studuit indefessus et se noluit recognoscere vel aliquo modo humiliare profusus ab episcopis et secundum ecclesiastica jura damnatus.*

† The church at Lyons expresses itself, in the letter already referred to, as follows: *Quapropter illud prorsus omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent, quia inaudito irreligiositatis et crudelitatis exemplo tamdiu ille miserabilis flagris et cædibus trucidatus est, donec (sicut narrarunt nobis, qui præsentibus aderant) accenso coram se igni libellum, in quo sententias scripturarum sive sanctorum patrum sibi collegerat, quas in concilio offerret, coactus est jam pæne emoriens suis manibus in flammam projicere.*

archbishop Hinkmar to make his situation somewhat more comfortable; perhaps, also, he hoped to win the man to submit by gentleness whose will could not be broken by force. But at the demand of Rabanus Maurus, Hinkmar soon resorted again to new severities against the unfortunate monk. All attempts to draw from him any sort of recantation were unavailing. He made use of every means he could command in his confinement for the defence of his cause. He inspired sympathy in a certain monk, by the name of Guntbert,* belonging to the monastery of Hautvilliers. This monk secretly left the monastery with an appeal, addressed by Gottschalk to pope Nicholas, and carried it to Rome. Nor did Gottschalk fear to incense his oppressors still more by violently opposing them in other things not connected with this controversy.† We see him everywhere exhibiting himself as a man inclined to lay an undue stress on dogmatic formularies.

The most important point to him was always his doctrine of two-fold predestination. In defence of it, he drew up in his prison two confessions of faith, a shorter and a longer one.‡ This doctrine seemed to him to be closely connected with the essence of the Christian faith; for he was persuaded that whoever denied the predestination of the wicked by God to everlasting punishment, made God a mutable being, not to be placed on a level even with a man acting after wise and mature consideration.§ Whoever with hardened temper refused to acknowledge so plain a doctrine, appeared to him a

* Of whom Hinkmar, in reporting the fact, gives a very unfavourable account (T. II. opp. fol. 290), which however, coming as it does from so passionate an opponent, is entitled to no great confidence.

† As the same expression, *trina Deitas*, in an ancient church hymn, had been found offensive on account of the horror of Tritheism, and the word *sancta* had been substituted in place of *trina*, Gottschalk stood forth as a defender of the church hymn, attacking the alteration as betraying a leaning to Sabellianism. Hinkmar has inserted Gottschalk's treatise in his refutation of it. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie also wrote against Hinkmar on this matter.

‡ Published by Manguin in the first volume of the work above mentioned.

§ In his larger confession of faith. His words are: *Videant quale sit et quantum malum, quod quum omnes electi tui omnia bona semper fecerint, faciant et facturi sint cum consilio, præsumant affirmare, quod tu qui totius es auctor fonsque sapientiæ volueris vel valueris vel etiam debueris quicquam (quod absit) absque consilio patrare.*

teacher of error, with whom nothing could be done, and who ought to be avoided. The greatest distress which he felt from his personal sufferings, arose from the thought that his own disgrace might operate unfavourably on the cause of truth.* He longed for a public council, where he might convince those who had only been led astray by the errorists, but were not obstinately in the wrong. And though he did not suppose himself a worker of miracles, and was far from being a miracle-hunter, yet he was so strongly convinced of the truth and of the importance of his doctrine, that, in reliance on God and this truth, he expected, if men could be convinced in no other way, God would work a miracle to prove it. He offered to undergo the fiery ordeal, and publicly before the king, and an assembly of bishops, clergy, and monks, to step into four caldrons, one after another, filled with boiling water, oil, and pitch.† If he shrunk from fulfilling his engagement, they might immediately cast him into the fire. "Let no one accuse me of rashness," said he, "on account of this proposal. I do it relying on the grace of God alone."‡ But it is remarkable that not an individual was to be found to take up with this proposal, though in the existing state of public opinion no easier way could have been devised for exposing his cause, which had so many powerful friends, to sure disgrace.

Thus firm and steadfast in his opinions did Gottschalk remain till his death, in 868. Hinkmar refused to grant him the communion in his last sickness, and burial according to the rites of the church, except on the condition of a full and

* Maximum diu noctuque perfero mœrorem, quod propter mei nominis vilitatem vilem hominibus video esse veritatem.

† He does not arrogantly say that he is ready to do this, but clothes it in the form of a prayer, that God would grant him the ability to accomplish it: *Utinam placeret tibi, ut sicut in te credo et spero (dato mihi gratis posse, prout jam dare dignatus es et dare quotidie dignaris etiam velle), id approbarem cernentibus cunctis examine, ut videlicet quatuor doliis uno post unum positis atque ferventi sigillatim repletis aqua, oleo pingui et pice et ad ultimum accenso copiosissimo igne, liceret mihi invocato gloriosissimo nomine tuo, ad approbandam, hanc fidem meam, imo fidem catholicam in singula introire et ita per singula transire (te præveniente, comitante ac subsequente dexteramque præbente ac clementer educante, valerem sospes exire).*

‡ Quia prorsus ausum talia petendi, sicut ipse melius nosti, a me propria temeritate non præsumo, sed abs te potius tua benignitate sumo.

explicit recantation; but rather than comply with this condition, he renounced both, and died tranquilly in his faith.

The injustice and severity with which Hinkmar treated the down-trodden Gottschalk could hardly fail to call forth Christian sympathy at his fate, and indignation against the persecutors of the innocent victim. But in addition to sympathy for the man was sympathy also for the cause to which he sacrificed himself—for the Augustinian scheme, for which he so zealously laboured, and with many this feeling operated still more strongly than the other. Pope Nicholas, to whom, as we have already stated, Gottschalk had appealed, and to whom the matter was reported, partly by Gottschalk's friends, and partly by the enemies of Hinkmar in order to injure him, seems to have expressed himself dissatisfied with the condemnation and severe treatment of Gottschalk, and to have demanded an exact account of the whole proceeding.* He wrote to king Charles the Bald, that he could not always protect Hinkmar against the complaints circulated respecting him, and that Hinkmar had better be on his guard lest in the end he might experience that which he would not like to have happen.† Hinkmar offered, it is true, to send Gottschalk, if he, the pope, expressly required it,‡ to Rome, or to any other place for the purpose of undergoing a new trial under the pope's direction; but it is easy to see that he was not serious in this, and that he took every pains to dissuade the pope from bringing the matter before his own court, as he doubtless had reason to dread an examination of his conduct in this affair. Now whether it was that Nicholas, who certainly had stood forth in other cases as a defender of oppressed innocence and of justice, was actuated by the same pure motives in this case also, or whether his unfavourable humour towards Hinkmar, the active and powerful advocate of church freedom, made him lend a more ready ear to the latter's opponents, it is evident that he must have had many grounds of suspicion against that prelate; but it is no less singular that, in spite of them all, he repeatedly allowed himself to be

* See Hinkmar's letter to this pope, T. II. opp. f. 261.

† As Hinkmar cites the words, in his letter to Egilo, bishop of Sens (T. II. opp. f. 290): *Ut providerem, ne pro iis tandem aliquando incurram quæ non opto.*

‡ See his first cited letter.

pacified, and that the unflinching energy, setting all common forms at naught, with which he pressed on to his object, on other occasions of greater moment to him, was not exerted to save a poor forsaken monk.

As Hinkmar could not but know, after his first harsh treatment of Gottschalk, that much dissatisfaction was expressed at his conduct, he asked the advice of several eminent men respecting the course proper to be pursued, in dealing with Gottschalk for the future. He applied for this purpose to Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, in a letter giving a statement of the course he had thus far pursued, as well as an account of the man's character, which undoubtedly was a very unjust one. He asked Prudentius whether he ought to admit him to the communion; whether he might not admit him, at least, on the festival of Easter, or whether he ought not, according to Ezekiel xxxiii. 11, to seek first to bring the sinner to repentance, and then grant him absolution. The bishop, as we may conjecture from his later conduct, would probably advise Hinkmar to pursue a milder course towards the unfortunate man; for in truth there was not much in his doctrinal opinions with which Prudentius would have been disposed to find fault. This influence, which would have persuaded Hinkmar to gentler measures, was counteracted by Rabanus Maurus, who, in a letter complaining that Gottschalk was allowed so much liberty to write and discourse, which he would be sure to employ to the injury of others, represented it as Hinkmar's duty to deny him the communion, unless he agreed to a recantation.* "All that remains to be done," said he, "is to pray for our weak brother, that it may please Almighty God to save his soul, and bring him back to the true faith." Prudentius afterwards came over to the doctrine of Gottschalk, and in a letter addressed to archbishop Hinkmar, and Pardulus bishop of Lyons, entering largely into the discussion of the three contested points of doctrine, openly avowed his convictions. He affirmed a twofold predestination, though he held God's predestination in respect to the wicked, to be conditioned on His foreknowledge of all the sin and

* See the letter of Raban among the three letters published by Sirmond, p. 26 et seq. Attendite, quomodo vos sine crimine possitis esse, qui in synodo vestra hanc sectam nefandam simul cum hæretico damnastis, si ei modo incorrecto communicaveritis.

guilt that would follow in consequence of the fall of Adam. He expressly denied that God foreordained any man to sin; he taught only a foreordination to punishment. He maintained, also, that Christ died only for the elect, which he inferred from the words "for many," in Matthew xx. 28, "for you," in the institution of the eucharist. And he taught that God wills not the salvation of all, but only of the elect; arguing that God would not be the Almighty, if that which is his will did not actually take place. The words of St. Paul, 1 Timothy ii. 4, he endeavoured to explain away by various forced interpretations.*

The conflict of opinions on this subject induced king Charles the Bald to consult monk Ratramnus, of the monastery of Corbie, who was considered one of the learned theologians of his time, as to the judgment to be passed on these contested points, according to the declarations of the older church teachers. Ratramnus, in his work on Predestination,† expressed, without alluding to Gottschalk, or even mentioning his name, his views on the doctrine of a twofold predestination. He also inferred the doctrine of a predestination of the wicked to everlasting punishment, as well as of the pious to eternal happiness, as a necessary consequence from the eternity and immutability of the divine counsels; but he also supposed God's predestination, in respect to the reprobate, to be grounded on foreknowledge, since it was an important point with him to remove from God all appearance of a causality of sin; and he also proceeded, in so doing, from fundamental principles laid down by Augustin.‡ The development of doctrine on this point was somewhat advanced, therefore, by him.

Amongst the defenders of the Gottschalkian scheme, the

* *Vel omnes ex omni genere hominum vel omnes velle fieri salvos, quia nos facit velle fieri omnes homines salvos.* This tract is published in Cellot's *Historia Gotheschalci*, Paris, 1655, in the appendix, fol. 420.

† *De prædestinatione Dei libri II.* in Mauguin, T. I.

‡ In reference to grace (l. c. f. 76), he says, concerning the *ordo prædestinationis*: *Electos divini amoris flamma succendens, interiora id est spiritalia, et superna id est cœlestia concupiscere semper facit et sequi, at reprobos justo quidem judicio, mortalibus tamen occulto, dum desiderio supernæ patriæ non irradiat, atque eos invisibilis boni extorres derelinquit, non interiora, sed exteriora, non cœlestia, sed terrena bona diligere sequique permittit. Non enim veritatis quisquam bonum vel amare potest vel assequi, nisi veritatis luce commonitus.*

person who most distinguished himself was the already mentioned abbot Servatus Lupus. Eminent for his classical learning, he had acquired, partly by the aid and discipline of his favourite studies, uncommon skill in the lucid exposition of a subject. This clearness of exposition never led him, it is true, to any new or original results; but no man excelled him in a power of distinctly apprehending and setting forth the proper questions of dispute, and in a felicity of separating essential from non-essential points. He occupied himself in his work (*De tribus quæstionibus*) with the investigation of the three questions, respecting free-will, the twofold predestination, and whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect.

The doctrine of grace, and of the need in which human nature stands of divine assistance, drawn as it was from the depths of his own Christian experience, was unfolded by him in a very lively manner. "Whenever," says he, "a person strives to fulfil the divine commands, but finds himself unable, let him repair humbly to him who can satisfy his need, and let him glory not in himself, but in the Lord, for all the good which he receives from him."* The Christian foundation, the renunciation of one's self, the inspiring consciousness of absolute dependence on God, he sets over against that of moral self-sufficiency and of self-trust in the ancient world, describing the latter in the language of the ancient authors themselves.† In his exhibition of the doctrine of grace, he does not stop, any more than did Augustin, at the condition of man's nature after the fall, but traces it back to the nature of the creaturely relation to God. He designates grace as that principle of divine life which the soul needs, in order to its perfection, from the very beginning,—that *without which*, and left to himself, man, even in the pristine state of innocence, could accomplish nothing good. God is to the soul what the

* *Profecto ut dum conatur quis nec sufficit quæ jubentur implere, illuc fatigatione humiliatus recurrit, unde petendo, quærendo, pulsando, accipiat quod desiderat et non in se, sed in Domino de omnibus ejus beneficiis gloriatur.*

† Cato's words in Cicero de senectute c. 2: *Quibus nihil opus est in ipsis ad bene beateque vivendum, to which he opposes these: omnia bona a vero Deo, non a seipso petere;—Virgil's words: spes sibi quisque, to which he opposes these: cuique Deus vera spes.*

soul is to the body.* With skilful sophistry he interprets 1 Timothy ii. 4, "God will have all men to be saved," a passage contradicting his system of predestination in such a way as to evade its force. But the consummate art which he displays on this occasion shows, in spite of the dogmatical prejudices which led him astray, that he had taken great pains to study the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament.† From what Lupus Servatus says, we might infer that many, in their efforts to soften the rigour of the Augustinian system, had already advanced so far as to depart from Augustin in the doctrine respecting the relation of free-will to grace; for he speaks of those who supposed that God's predestination, even in respect to the elect, was conditioned on his foreknowledge of their conduct.‡ To this opinion he expresses himself decidedly opposed, because the grace of God is made thereby to depend on human merit, and is therefore rendered void. He gives it to be understood that men of high standing in the church had asserted this; but we find none such, at least among those who appear in the controversy with Gottschalk. And he himself says, that predestination in this sense was acknowledged by the most; but that many§ took offence

* *Habuit Adam liberum voluntatis arbitrium et ad bonum et ad malum, sed ad bonum divino munere adjuvandum, ad malum autem divino iudicio deserendum. Quemadmodum non adjuvaretur in bono ab eo, qui vita esset animæ ejus, ut anima corporis ejus? Vid. pag. 212. ed. Baluz.*

† He proposes various expedients to understand the words with a limitation evacuating them of all meaning, salvantur omnes, quoscunque ille salvare voluerit; and he is of the opinion that this arbitrary interpretation of the word "all" can be supported by many examples, just as it was customary to defend such arbitrary modes of interpretation in times when the grammatical study of the sacred Scriptures was more common. Omnes autem non semper universitatem generaliter, verum aliquando exceptionem quandam particulariter comprehendere, etiam ipse apostolus idoneus auctor est, for in the text 1 Corinth. x. 33, the term "all" can be understood only with limitation. Or the term "all" may be understood thus: quod ex *omni genere* hominum colligat ad salutem id est quosdam Judæorum atque gentilium, quosdam utriusque sexus, nonnullos magistratum et privatorum, aliquos dominorum, atque servorum, ingeniosorum atque hebetum. So, too, the *omne olus*, Luke xi. 42; or that it refers to the disposition which the Spirit of God produces in the hearts of believers, qui velle nos facit omnes homines salvos fieri; in proof, Rom. viii. 26, ipse spiritus postulat, hoc est, postulare nos facit.

‡ Deum propterea prædestinasse quoslibet, quod præscierit eos devotos sibi futuros et in eadem devotione mansuros.

§ In quibus et quædam præclara præsulum lumina.

at a predestination to damnation; and he rightly states also what it was in this doctrine that chiefly offended them.* Would such persons but consider, he said, that God *foreknew* the sins which would grow out of Adam's free-will, but *fore-ordained* what should follow, as the consequence of these sins, they would cease to find so much difficulty in the doctrine. He sets forth himself the practically mischievous conclusions which might be derived from the doctrine of absolute predestination. Many would say, Why not abandon ourselves, then, to every lust, if we must perish at last? But he replies, Nothing of that sort can be said by one who stands on the true Christian foundation. Far from indulging such thought must be the Christian, who knows that he has been redeemed by Christ, that he was dedicated to God by baptism, that the way to that repentance which is unto salvation stands ever open. How can he, while he lives, despair of salvation, instead of trusting in God's goodness that he lives for the very purpose of finally becoming better? The very utterance of such a sentiment betrays one who is actuated by an insatiable love of sin, or who, by his incorrigible impiety, has plunged himself into despair. Those declarations of holy Scripture, where it is said that Christ died for all, he explains to himself in the same way as he does the declaration, God will have all men to be saved. Perhaps, he says, it might be argued with a decree of plausibility, that Christ died for all those who have received the *sacraments of faith*, whether they observe them or not. Yet he expresses himself on this contested question with great moderation. "Since many," says he, "reject it as a blasphemous assertion, as an assertion which greatly detracts from the merits of our Redeemer, to say that he did not redeem all men, we will, therefore, holding fast only to the faith, that God has redeemed by the blood of Christ all whom he willed, leave the matter so far undetermined,† as to allow that if it could be shown that the blood of the Redeemer had somewhat benefited even the damned in the mitigation of their punishment, we would not only not oppose it, but even gladly adopt their opinion;

* Ne credatur Deus libidine puniendi aliquos condidisse et injuste damnare eos, qui non valuerint peccatum ac per hoc nec supplicium declinare.

† Ita causam in medio relinquimus.

for if the sun, though it cannot enlighten, still gives warmth to the blind, why may not that mightier sun, though it does not save those who are blinded and lost by their own guilt, still make them experience, in the mitigation of their sufferings, the influence of so great a ransom?" At the same time, this view seems to him contradicted by the passage in Galatians v. 2; for he argues: "If it is here said that Christ shall profit them nothing who had fallen from the faith, how should he profit those who, after baptism, have fallen into sin, and have not reformed, but died in unbelief?" But in order to concede something to the advocates of that view, he cites a passage from Chrysostom, who on this matter is unquestionably widely opposed to Augustin.* And he then leaves it free for each one to decide, after mature consideration of the whole matter, as God may enable him to do by inward illumination, or as he may believe he finds it clearly laid down in the sacred Scriptures.†

It deserves at the same time to be remarked, that Servatus Lupus, much as he was inclined to respect the authority of Augustin, yet nowhere speaks of his declarations as infallible in matters of faith, but seems to have ascribed this infallibility to holy Scripture alone, as in fact ascribing *such* authority to Augustin would have been directly at variance with his own declarations concerning himself.‡

At the invitation of king Charles the Bald, John Scotus also took part in this controversy. He wrote, in the year 851, a book on predestination,§ in which he declared himself opposed to Gottschalk's doctrine; but it was not in the

* Ponam unum, quod eum eis faciat testimonium, et eos omnes, ut opinor, in gratiam reduxero.

† Eligat sane superioribus acute consideratis unusquisque quod optimum ei Deus occulta inspiratione suggesserit, aut magistra ejus scriptura manifesta ratione protulerit.

‡ After citing Augustin's decision on the contested points, he says (p. 237): Ne amore doctorum amplecti judicemur errores eorum, procedat Paulus in medium;—and in another place, p. 239, he says: Jam ergo, cum res in tuto sit, ponamus verborum controversias, ne puerili animositate contra invicem pro inani victoriae jactantia litigantes corripiamur ad apostolo 2 Tim. ii. 14. Nam cum sit nobis unus magister celestis, qui est verus et veritas, unde accipitur et quo referenda est omnis veritas, cur pro nostris inventis dimicemus?

§ Published by Manguin, in the first volume of the work above cited.

nature of the man to pass judgment on his opponents with the candid impartiality of a *Servatus Lupus*. He drew a frightful picture of Gottschalk's heresy, as he styled it. He affirmed that both divine grace and man's free-will were denied by it, since it derived alike the crimes which lead to damnation and the virtues which lead to eternal life from a necessary and constraining predestination. By unconditional necessity, grace as the free gift of God was destroyed on the one hand, and the free-will of man on the other.* His performance generally was an outpouring of virulent abuse on the head of that Gottschalk whose confessions of faith he pretended to refute. A twofold predestination in the sense of Gottschalk, one the cause of man's virtue and everlasting blessedness, the other the cause of sin and of everlasting destruction,† seemed to him an altogether untenable theory, for this, if for no other reason, because it supposes an opposition, a contradiction in God, which is irreconcilable with the simplicity of the divine essence.‡ But to understand the character of his polemics as well as his own doctrine, it is necessary to keep in view the fundamental ideas of his system, as they have been already stated. All he says on the contested questions is a necessary consequence from these principles. According to his view, everything in fact that is predicated of God is only an anthropopathic designation of his incomprehensible nature; for this reason opposite attributes may be transferred to God.§ When we attribute to the divine Being an act of creation, of will, of foreknowledge, of foreordination, the same thing at bottom is denoted by all this, the one Divine Essence.|| Above all, no relations of time can

* See *De prædestinat.* c. 4.

† Which first Gottschalk to be sure had not asserted.

‡ *Si autem divina natura summa omnium, quæ sunt, causa multiplex, cum sit, simplex et una saluberrime creditur, consequenter necesse est nullam in se ipsa controversiam recipere credatur.*

§ What he says on this point, in the work alluded to, completely harmonizes with the system unfolded in the work *De divisione naturæ*, with this difference only, that in the book on predestination he expresses himself with more caution and reserve. *Omnia pæne sive nominum sive verborum aliarumque orationis partium signa proprie de Deo dici non posse. Eis tamen utitur humanæ ratiocinationis post peccatum primi hominis laboriosa egestas.* c. 9.

|| *Quicquid invenitur esse non aliud id esse, nisi unam veramque essentiam, quæ ubique in se ipsa tota est, et quæ est illa, nisi omnium natura-*

be transferred to God; in relation to him we cannot speak of a before or an after. Hence it is only in an anthropopathic way, only in an improper sense, that a foreknowledge and a foreordination can be predicated of God. But in reference to sin, we can speak neither of a divine causality, nor even of a knowledge in the case of the divine Being; sin for the divine Being has no existence at all. Much less can we speak of a predestination or a foreknowledge of God with regard to sin. And as sin, or evil, has no existence at all for the divine Being, so it can be said only in an improper sense that God *punishes sin*. The idea denoted by such a mode of expression is no other than this—God has so constituted the order of things, that *sin punishes itself*, and all rational beings find their appropriate place in the universe according to their different moral conduct. Every sin carries with it its own punishment, which takes place secretly in the present life, but will appear openly in the life to come.* Now this theory might be carried to such a length as to end in the opinion that sin met only with an internal, spiritual punishment, and in the total denial of sensible punishments after death; of a sensuous purgatory and a sensuous hell, which would be contrary to the doctrine of the church. In his work *De divisione naturæ* he actually carried out his principle to this extent. He found in all the representations of sensuous punishments in the sacred Scriptures, only figurative descriptions of the internal punishments which sin must carry along with it, and which consist in the inward anguish, the remaining unsatisfied strivings of earthly desires, left entirely to themselves.† The notion of a sensuous hell he would

rum præsciens prædestinatio et præscientia prædestinans. c. 10, near the end.

* Nullum peccatum est, quod non se ipsum puniat, occulte tamen in hac vita, aperte vero in altera. c. 6, near the close.

† L. V. c. 29. f. 265. Ubi Judas salvatoris nostri proditor torquetur? Numquid alibi, nisi in polluta conscientia, qua Dominum tradidit? Qualem pœnam patitur? Seram profecto pœnitentiam et inutilem, qua semper uritur. Quid patitur dives ille in inferno? Nonne splendorum epularum, quibus in hac vita vescebatur, egestatem? Qua flamma consumitur impurissimus rex Herodes, nisi suo furore, quo in necem exarsit innocentium? Hæc exempla de pravis malarum voluntatum motibus, quos in semetipsis vitiorum torquet justissima vindicta, diversarumque libidinum cicatrices sufficiunt. Unusquisque enim impie viventium ipsa

reckon among the prejudices clinging to the sensuous multitude, who are as yet incapable of the higher, spiritual apprehension.* And even on the present occasion he adhered to what he had said in that work concerning spiritual punishments; even on the present occasion he maintained that nothing outward was, in and of its own nature, punishment; that God had created no part of the world to subserve the end of punishment. Yet, he now endeavoured to bring the peculiar and established theory respecting the fire of hell into harmony with his own view of punishment. This fire of hell was created by God to fill its own appropriate place in the harmony of the universe, but not for the wicked. Only to those who bore their own punishment within them, would it prove to be a place of punishment, just as the same light of the sun acts in one way on the sound, and in another on the diseased eye.† For why ought not everything that is in itself good to become evil to the wicked, when he has estranged himself from the supreme good? ‡—"To the eternal divine laws," says he, "all must be obedient. In this only consists the difference between the elect and the reprobate, that the latter obey these laws from constraint, the former with free-will. The divine wisdom has fixed a boundary in its laws, beyond which the perversity of the godless cannot go. Sin cannot go on progressing without end; it finds its limits in the divine laws. The wickedness of the godless, and of their head the devil, tends to nothing else than to fall utterly from Him who is the highest being; so that, if the divine law allowed of it, their nature would sink into nothing, as sin is nothing. But in the very fact that sin finds itself held in check by the eternal laws, so that it cannot fall so low as it would, in this very fact it finds its punishment. God then has foreordained the god-

vitiorum libidine, qua in carne exarsit, veluti quadam flamma inextinguibili torquetur.

* Vid. fol. 284, 286, and 292.

† Non ergo ille ignis est pœna neque ad eam præparatus vel prædestinatus, sed qui fuerat prædestinatus, ut esset in universitate omnium bonorum, sedes factus est impiorum. In quo procul dubio non minus habitabunt beati quam miseri, sed sicut una eademque lux sanis oculis convenit, impedit dolentibus. c. 17. s. 8.

‡ Quid enim bonorum illi non noceret, quando ei auctor omnium placere non poterat, aut ubi nullum bonum non nocebit, cui summo bono frui non placuit?

less to punishment; which means only this: he has circumscribed them by his immutable laws, which their wickedness cannot escape.* Just as God frees the will of those whom he has foreordained to grace, and so filled them with the sense of his love, that they not only rejoice to abide within the bounds of his eternal law, but also esteem it their highest glory to be neither willing nor able to transgress it; so he constrains the will of the reprobate, whom he has foreordained to punishment, in such manner that everything which, in the case of the former, results in the joy of the eternal life, becomes, on the contrary, to the latter, the punishment of everlasting wo.†

John Scotus stands forth, it is true, as a defender of the free-will; and he accuses his opponent of denying this, and of subjecting everything to a constraining necessity. In fact, however, he proceeds on precisely the same principle with theologians of Gottschalk's bent, since he too assumes that it is only by the grace which God communicates to the elect the corrupt will can be awakened to goodness. But he is deceived in his notions of freedom and of ability, by supposing man free within his own individuality, and by ascribing even to fallen man the ability for good, though this ability can only come into actual exercise through the influence of that grace. He employs an illustration which sets his view of the matter in a clear light. As a man in the dark, though he possesses the ability to see with his eyes, yet sees nothing till the light comes to him from without, so is it with the corrupt will, till the light of divine mercy shine upon it.‡ And so he says

* Quid enim appetit impiorum omnium et sui capitis, quod est diabolus nequitia, nisi ab eo qui est summa essentia recedere? In tantum, ut eorum natura, si lex divina sineret, in nihilum rediret, hinc namque nequitia est dicta, quod nequicquam, id est nihilum esse contendit. Sed quoniam ei difficultas ex æternis legibus obsistit, ne in tantum cadat, quantum vellet, ex ea difficultate laborat, laborando torquetur, punitur, et fit misera inanum voluptatum egestate. Prædestinavit itaque Deus impios ad penam vel interitum hoc est circumscripsit eos legibus suis incommutabilibus, quas eorum impietas evadere non permittitur.

† Vid. De prædestinat. c. 18. s. 8.

‡ C. 4. s. 8. Sicut enim homo in densissimis tenebris positus habens sensum videndi quidem nihil vidit, quia nihil potest videre antequam extrinsecus veniat lux, quam etiam adhuc clausis oculis sentit, apertis vero et eam et in ea cuncta circumposita conspicit, sic voluntas hominis quamdiu originalis peccati propriorumque umbra tegitur, ipsius caligine

in another place, that the will of man has not a false but a true freedom, though this freedom itself is so impaired by the consequences of the first sin, as to be wanting in the will to do good, or if it will to do good, in the ability to accomplish the good; but still there ever remains a certain natural freedom, which manifests itself in the innate longing after blessedness.*

Following out the conceptions thus defined, he must assuredly, if he had clearly understood what Gottschalk meant, and instead of accusing him of conclusions he never admitted, allowed him to experience common justice, have agreed with him in his results respecting predestination, grace, and free-will. His own doctrine concerning God,† concerning the creation, and concerning sin, did in truth really lead to the result of contemplating everything good and evil, as a necessary evolution from God, though certainly he had never distinctly avowed this to his own mind; and the illogical method common to the learned of these times, with the sole exception of Servatus Lupus, would render the possibility of self-deception here extremely easy. But that which, beyond question, constitutes an essential difference between John Scotus and his opponents, nay, his fellow-combatants also, is his doctrine concerning the mode of the divine punishments, and his doctrine concerning the restoration, which last, to be sure, does not hold in this book so prominent a place as in the work containing his entire system.

Hinkmar was compelled to regret that he had called into the field a champion of this character,‡ and he soon renounced all connection with him; for many weak spots were thus laid

impeditur. Dum autem lux divinæ misericordiæ illuxerit, non solum noctem peccatorum omnium eorumque reatum destruit, sed etiam obtutum infirmæ voluntatis sanando aperit et ad se contemplandum bonis operibus purgando idoneum facit.

* Manente tamen adhuc naturali libertate, quæ intelligitur beatitudinis appetitu, qui ei naturaliter insitus est.

† Although he says, in his work on predestination (c. 5. s. 5): Non enim Deus omnium bonorum causa est necessaria, sicut ignis ardendi, sol calefaciendi, illuminandi, aut coactiva, ut sensus dormiendi, sitis bibendi, sed est voluntaria, ut sapientia sapientis, ratio ratiocinantis similiter.

‡ He himself complained, some time afterwards, of the pultes Scottorum.

open to the friends of Gottschalk's doctrine, who were not slow in detecting the heresies contained in the book of John Scotus. Archbishop Wenilo of Sens published nineteen propositions from that book, which he denounced as heretical. Prudentius bishop of Troyes, and Florus a deacon at Lyons, were thus drawn to write against them. Prudentius finds it offensive in John Scotus to maintain that God's working was one with his being. From thence, he said, it might be inferred that everything in the world which presents itself as a working of God is one with his being; and it perhaps floated before his mind that this would lead to a pantheistic hypothesis, irreconcilable with God's holiness.* The several attributes of God which are one with his essence, as truth, justice, goodness, he held to be quite different from the facts which are relatively predicated of him, as his foreknowledge and predestination, denoting some relation of God to things without his own essence.† Prudentius concluded his work by saying that he would not as yet pronounce the anathema on John Scotus, but he would earnestly entreat him to return to the purity of the Christian faith. The deacon Florus undertook a more complete refutation of the doctrines of John Scotus, attacking him rather with arguments of dogmatical speculation, while Prudentius confined himself for the most part to testimonies from the church fathers. He admitted that in God his attributes of wisdom and knowledge are one with his being; but he thought it dangerous to assert that God's *predestination* and *foreknowledge* are one with his being.‡ With greater vehemence he repelled as blasphemous the assertion, that evil and sin were nonentities; and therefore could not be

* Velut Dei essentia prædicantur occisio, in errorem inductio, morbi, fames, naufragia, insidiæ, et alia complura, quæ in divinis elogiis indita prudentium nullus ignorat. T. I. f. 218.

† Unius quoque, ut desipis, ejusdemque videlicet naturæ non sunt, quia nulla auctoritate Dei natura præscientia vel prædestinatio nuncupatur. pag. 404.

‡ Yet constrained, perhaps, on the one hand by the force of his premises, while he feared on the other hand the conclusions to which they led, he explains himself somewhat doubtfully on this point: Utrum vero, sicut dicitur, Deus substantialiter dici possit præscientia. judicet secundum rationem et regulam fidei qui potest, nobis tamen videtur, quod non ita possit dici de illo nisi vel mendaciter vel nimis inusitate, non est aliud illi esse et aliud præscire. p. 591.

objects of the divine knowledge.* Such an assertion seemed to him fraught with practical mischief, as it would naturally lead men to think of sin as a trifling evil.† Conformably to the principles laid down by Augustin, respecting the relation of natural things to divine, he too asserted that the first man, in his state of innocence, and with a moral nature still unperverted, needed divine grace in order to perseverance in goodness.‡

While he censured John Scotus on account of his abuse of the worldly sciences, he did not suffer himself to be so far misled by the zeal of the polemic as to discard them as useless in themselves to theology; but he had the discretion to distinguish the right use of them, in investigating truth, from that abuse. He only demanded that everything should be tried by the test of the sacred Scriptures; but at the same time he declared, that in order rightly to understand and apply Scripture truth, it was not enough to study the letter alone, but that the inward illumination of a Christian temper was also required. The holy Scriptures themselves could not be rightly understood and profitably read unless faith in Christ first existed in the heart of the reader, so that the truth might be rightly apprehended by means of that, or unless faith in Christ was truly sought, and found in them by the light which cometh from above.§

To meet these antagonists, Hinkmar was now compelled to look round for new allies. Gottschalk had, at some earlier period, asked assistance of Amulo, archbishop of Lyons, and sent him his confessions. This person adopted Gottschalk's doctrine, as understood by himself. Incapable of judging without prejudice, he belonged to the class who adopted the milder views of the Augustinian scheme, or he viewed the whole subject through the glass which had been put into his hand

* Pag. 642.

† Iste ergo, qui tam assidue dicit et repetit peccata nihil esse, quid aliud conatur agere diabolo instigante, nisi ut ea quasi leviget in cordibus audientium, ut non doleant, non agnoscant, quanto malo teneantur. p. 671.

‡ Licet naturaliter illud homini inseruerit, quando eum creavit utique bonum et bona voluntate præditum, tamen et tunc indigebat gratia conditoris, ut in bono, quo creatus fuerat, permaneret. p. 629.

§ Nisi aut fides Christi præcedat in corde legentis, per quem veraciter intelligantur, aut ipsa fides Christi in eis fideliter quærat et Deo illuminante inveniatur. p. 718.

by archbishop Hinkmar. He accused Gottschalk of actually asserting that which was commonly imputed to him by his opponents only as an inference from his doctrines; but at the same time, he distinguished himself by the gentleness with which he treated one whom he supposed to have erred from the truth. In the letter by which he endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his dangerous errors,* he addressed him as a beloved brother, to whom he wished every blessing he desired for himself.† He transmitted this letter for Gottschalk to archbishop Hinkmar, and manifestly it was his desire to effect a reconciliation between them; but he went on a supposition, which could never be realized, that Gottschalk could be made to see the offensive points in his doctrine. When archbishop Amulo had so expressed himself, Hinkmar might hope to find in him an ally in the contest with his new opponents. In union with a bishop of his diocese, of the same mind with himself, bishop Pardulus of Laon, he addressed to him, and to the church at Lyons, in the year 853, two letters concerning Gottschalk and his doctrine, and to these added also the letter written by archbishop Rabanus Maurus on the same subjects to Notting, bishop of Verona. But meanwhile archbishop Amulo had died, and his successor Remigius took up the matter in a way altogether contrary to the expectations of Hinkmar. In a letter written in the name of the church at Lyons, in reply to that of Hinkmar,‡ he condemned the unjust and cruel treatment of Gottschalk in language which breathed alike the spirit of justice and of gentleness. "Let the judges themselves reflect," said he, "whether they exercised that moderation and Christian charity which should ever be expected from a spiritual tribunal composed of priests and monks?" § Their mode of conducting themselves towards

* Agobardi opera ed. Baluz. T. II. p. 149.

† Quod autem non solum fratrem, sed etiam dilectissimum dico, Dominus novit, quia te fideliter diligo, hoc tibi cupiens, quod et mihi, unde et salutem tibi veraciter opto, præsentem pariter et futuram.

‡ In Mauguin Vindiciæ prædest. et gratiæ, T. II. P. II.

§ Sed et de ipsis flagellis et cædibus, quibus secundum regulam S. Benedicti dicitur adjudicatus, quibus et omnino fertur atrocissime et absque ulla misericordia pæne usque ad mortem dilaceratus, quæ moderatio et mensura juxta pietatem ecclesiasticam et sacerdotalem sive monachalem verecundiam servari debuerit, ipsi potius apud se dijudicent. p. 107.

Gottschalk, he said, was regarded with universal abhorrence: * for before this all heretics had been refuted and convicted by words and reasons. † In condemning Gottschalk's doctrine of predestination, men condemned not that unhappy monk, but the very truth of *the church* itself. ‡ Instead of adjudging to the flames a confession which contained not so much his doctrines as the doctrines of the church, they should first have examined it with Christian charity and deliberation. § If it were true that Gottschalk had used insulting language to the bishops, that indeed was an inexcusable offence, and deserved to be punished; *but it had better have been done by others than by themselves*. Moreover, a benevolent pity should have constrained them to shorten, or at least to render more supportable, the long and inhuman confinement to which he was subjected for so many years, so as to gain over by love and the spirit of meekness the brother for whom Christ died, rather than to abridge his days by excessive grief. ||

In reference to the two contested questions, whether the declaration, "God will have all men to be saved," was to be understood without qualification, ¶ or with such an one as the doctrine of absolute predestination required; whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect;—in reference to these questions, Remigius declared indeed, that his own opinion agreed with the particularistic view; yet he proposed, as Servatus Lupus had done before him, as a compromise for the sake of peace, that on this point every man might freely enjoy his own opinion, and that neither party should condemn the other; since nothing had been decided on the subject by the church, and a difference existed in the declarations of

* Omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent. p. 109.

† Cum omnes retro hæretici verbis et disputationibus victi atque convicti sunt.

‡ In hac re dolemus non illum miserabilem, sed ecclesiasticam veritatem esse damnatam.

§ Seusus illi non ignibus damnandi, sed pia et pacifica inquisitione tractandi.

|| Ut frater, pro quo Christus mortuus est. per caritatem et spiritum mansuetudinis potius lucraretur, quam abundantiori tristitia absorberetur.

¶ The forced interpretations of this passage which we noticed in the case of Servatus Lupus, were resorted to also by Remigius, l. c. p. 86.

Scripture as well as in the interpretations of them by approved church-teachers.

When Hinkmar perceived that the number of his opponents continually increased, he resolved to oppose them by a resort to ecclesiastical authority, and in a second synod at Chiersy caused four propositions to be drawn up in opposition to the Gottschalkian doctrine. In these four propositions the principles of the Augustinian system were also adopted as the points of departure. To the first man was ascribed a free-will by which he could have persevered in original righteousness.* Through the abuse of this free-will the first man sinned, and thereby all mankind became a mass of perdition (*massa perditionis*). Out of this mass a good and righteous God elected, according to his foreknowledge, those *whom* by his grace he foreordained to *eternal life*, and *for whom* he foreordained *eternal life*. As to those, on the other hand, whom by a sentence of justice he left in the mass of corruption, he foreknew that they *would* perish, though he by no means predestinated them to this that they *must* perish. But no doubt on the principle of justice he foreordained for them eternal punishment. Hence there is but one predestination of God referring either to the gift of grace, or to the retribution of justice—and *this form of expression* constitutes precisely the point of opposition to the doctrine of the *prædestinatio duplex*. The second main difference here expressed consists in the principles: God will have all men to be saved; Christ died for the salvation of all men; which propositions, however, are necessarily modified by their connection with that first proposition, and in the system of Hink-

* It deserves to be noticed how important to the other side was the proposition, by no means denied by Hinkmar, that even in the original state free-will might act in the good only as an organ of divine grace. Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, in his tract *De tenenda veritate Scripturæ sacræ*, which he wrote in opposition to those four decrees, objects to them especially that in the first Capitulum, this ability is attributed to free-will without any mention of grace, on the principle of the *originalis justitia*. Hoc nos primum in eis movet, quod absque ulla commemoratione gratiæ Dei, sine qua nulla rationalis creatura, scilicet nec angelica nec humana unquam potuit aut potest vel poterit in justitia et sanctitate esse, manere atque persistere, ita primus homo, definitur liberi arbitrii a Deo conditus, tanquam per ipsum tantummodo arbitrium liberum in sanctitate et justitia potuisset permanere. c. 3. p. 182.

mar, as in that of Rabanus Maurus, are to be understood only under this limitation.

To these decrees the second synod at Valence, in 855, opposed six other capitula. In these, a twofold predestination in the sense already defined was asserted; but at the same time it was most positively declared that the sin of men had its sole ground in the will of the first man, and of his posterity; that it was solely an object of divine foreknowledge. Moreover, reprobation was attributed to man's guilt, and to God, only as a just sentence.* The doctrine was expressly condemned, that Christ died for unbelievers; yet the interest in behalf of the objective validity of the sacraments, which was of so much moment in the church system of doctrine, led them to insert in the fifth canon the additional clause—"that the whole multitude of believers, born again of water and of the Holy Spirit, and thereby truly incorporated into the church, has according to the apostolical doctrine been baptized into Christ, and purified by his blood from sin; for in truth their regeneration would not be a real one were not their redemption a real one. It was as necessary to assume this as it was impossible to doubt the reality of the sacraments. Yet out of the multitude of believers and redeemed some attained to everlasting blessedness because by the grace of God they persevered faithfully in their redemption, but others never attained to the actual enjoyment of eternal bliss because they would not persevere in the blessedness of the faith received at the beginning, but rather frustrated the grace of redemption, and rendered it of no effect, by erroneous doctrine or a wicked life." With regard to grace, it was determined that without it *no rational* creature could lead a blessed life, thus in these public determinations also the need of grace was not supposed to arise in the first place from sin, but from the natural and necessary relation of the creature to the Creator. Furthermore, the absurd and foolish errors, as they are called, of Scotus, were particularly condemned.† It was intended afterwards, at an assembly

* C. 2. Nec ipsos malos ideo perire, quia boni esse non potuerunt, sed quia boni esse noluerunt, suoque vitio in massa damnationis vel merito originali vel etiam actuali permanserunt.

† C. 6: Ineptas quæstiunculas et aniles pæne fabulas Scotorumque pultes.

held at Savonnières (apud Saponarias) in the suburbs of Toul, to agree upon some common system of doctrine on the contested points; but no such agreement was ever arrived at. True, there was no difference between the two parties respecting the substantial doctrines of faith; and could they have come to a mutual understanding with respect to the meaning of terms, the parties would have been led, unless prevented by more deep-seated causes, to an agreement in doctrine; for both certainly were agreed in adopting the Augustinian system, with all the consequences that flowed from it. But while each party clung to its own formularies as the only correct ones, and refused to depart from them at any price, the possibility of coming to an understanding on the points of difference by a distinct explication of the whole subject of dispute, was out of the question; besides, the tenacity with which these formularies were held was due in part to other motives, on one side to the interest for dogmatical consistency in the system of absolute predestination; on the other, to the interest for Christian universality in the doctrines of divine grace and redemption, which universality could, to be sure, with the views entertained by its advocates, be held only in appearance, since the system of predestination, from beginning to end, stood in contradiction with it. The want of scientific method and logical clearness in the disputants, the habit of appealing in disputes to citations from the church fathers rather than to rational arguments, all this served to lengthen out the contention about forms of expression, leaving no chance of coming to an understanding about the essential contents of the thoughts. The last event in this controversy was the publication by Hinkmar of a work on predestination, composed in defence of the four capitula drawn up at Chiersy. The deficiencies just mentioned clove to Hinkmar, in a remarkable degree; and connected with them was the extreme prolixity and diffuseness of his style. The consequence was, that he could talk the longer on these disputed questions without coming any nearer towards resolving the different forms of expression into a difference contained within the conceptions themselves. Thus the dispute was handed down to the following centuries. Although in truth no material dogmatical difference was lying at bottom, yet such a difference might finally have been evolved as the result of

the dispute; but as the case was, it certainly proved of great practical importance, when the doctrines that God will have all men to be saved, that Christ died for all, were made prominent points of religious instruction, and the doctrine of absolute predestination was thrown more into the back-ground of the religious consciousness.

A controversy of still greater importance arose in the ninth century on the doctrine of *the Holy Supper*.

It has already been observed, in tracing the history of doctrines in the preceding periods, that the constant tendency to confound the internal thing with its external form had in the earliest times prevailed to a remarkable degree in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the sacraments generally, and that of the Holy Supper in particular; by virtue of which tendency the divine element that filled the religious consciousness in the whole transaction was transferred to the outward sign, so that the latter came to be considered as the bearer of a divine power communicated by the consecrating words of the priests. Thus with the Holy Supper was connected an idea of the interpenetration of the bread and wine by the body and blood of Christ; and inasmuch as the sensible element presented itself to devotion simply as the bearer of the supernatural, the predominant reference in the religious consciousness was to the supernatural alone, while the natural was almost wholly overlooked, or rather the natural element appeared to the religious consciousness as already transfigured in the reflected light of the higher essence on which the religious mind was exclusively fixed. Thus it might happen, that to religious intuition the substance of the bread and wine would be lost in the idea of the present body and blood of Christ, which was here contemplated as the only real thing; and thus was formed an intuitive habit of regarding the bread and wine as transformed into the body and blood of Christ. In the preceding periods, several gradations from the more spiritual to the more sensuous mode of apprehending the sacred ordinance had existed among Christians, without being separately evolved in consciousness to any such antagonism as seriously to disturb Christian fellowship. But in this period, and in the Western church, the predominant tendency to sensualize the objects of religious faith; the inclination to the magical in religion; the idea of a sacerdotal order in the

Christian church corresponding to the priesthood of the Old Testament; and, connected with this, the notion of a sacrificial function belonging to the new order of priesthood—all contributed to open the way for a general admission of the doctrine of transubstantiation, although this could not be brought about without a previous struggle with the opposite and more spiritual mode of apprehending the eucharist, a struggle which the culture of the Carolingian age was eminently calculated to call forth. *Paschasius Radbert*, abbot of the monastery of Corbie, who in the year 831 composed, for his disciple Placidius,* a work in which he aimed to set forth the whole doctrine of the Holy Supper,† was the first to expound and defend at length the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this tract he expressly rejects the opinion held, as he says, by some, that the eucharist consists only in a spiritual communion of the soul with the Redeemer for its own spiritual benefit.‡ This to him seemed not enough, since assuredly the effects of the redemption reached not merely to the soul, but also to the entire man. He stands up for the idea, which had prevailed from the earlier times, of a spiritual and bodily communion with Christ, whereby the body was supposed to receive an imperishable principle of life, preparatory to the resurrection. But the new thing in his doctrine was, that, by virtue of the consecration, by a miracle of almighty power, the substance of the bread and wine became converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; so that beneath the sensible, outward emblems of the bread and wine, another substance was still present. The principle on which he starts, and which was the predominating one in his whole mode of religious intuition, is, that the will of God, being the original cause of all created things, must ever remain the sole cause of the changes which take place in them. Although a miracle, therefore, may seem to be something contrary to the course of nature, yet in reality it is not so, because the very essence of nature consists in the obedience of all things to the divine laws.§ Accordingly, we must believe that, since God has so

* Cognomen of the abbot Warin of Corvey.

† De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi.

‡ C. 19: Non sicut quidam volunt, anima sola hoc mysterio pas-
citur.

§ Quotieslibet videtur quasi contra naturam aliquid evenire, quo-

willed it, under the outward phenomenal forms of the bread and the wine (sub figura panis et vini) are present the body and the blood of Christ after the consecration. "If thou believest in the miracle of the incarnation of the Son of God, thou must believe also in the miracle which is wrought by the same divine power through the words of the priest. The same body is here present as that in which Christ was born, suffered, arose, and ascended to heaven. Simply to avoid giving any shock to the senses, while an opportunity is furnished for the exercise of faith, the miracle is performed after a hidden manner, discernible only to faith under the still subsisting outward forms of colour, taste, and touch. That which the senses here perceive, and that which is done in a sensible manner, is the symbol; that which is wrought secretly under this image or symbol, and that which faith perceives, is the truth, the reality. It belongs to the essence of a sacrament, to which class he reckons baptism and the chrism (confirmation),* that the divine operation should take place invisibly, under cover of that which is presented visibly to the senses. Believers would not receive the body of Christ in a *true and real* manner were it *not* given to them under this covering. He cites instances, however, where, for the removal of doubts, or to satisfy the earnest longing of individuals, instead of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were presented perceptibly to the sense, but afterwards, at the distribution by the priest, again resumed their previous covering.† Such stories, evidencing the power of popular credulity, were well calculated to react powerfully back upon the same.

dammodo non contra naturam est, quia potissimum rerum natura creaturarum hoc habet eximium, ut a quo est, semper ejus obtemperet jussis. This principle of uncompromising supranaturalism Paschasius Radbert expressed also in the controversy on the question, whether Christ was not born in the same way as all other men. Quia non ex natura rerum divinæ leges pendent, sed ex divinis legibus naturæ leges manare probantur. On the other hand, the monk Ratramnus, of Corbie, maintained that it was impossible to conceive of a true birth and a true incarnation of Christ on any other supposition than that the birth of Christ was after the same kind with that of every other man. See the two writings in D'Achery, *Spicilegia*, T. I.

* It may be certainly gathered from his own language (c. 3) that he does not mention these three simply as examples, but that he was accustomed to designate them by the name, *the sacraments*.

† C. 14.

Again, it was his opinion that, as believers were by this sacrament to be raised above things sensible to things divine, so, if they were really filled with the spirit of God, the divine life would react to purge the senses, so that they would seem to perceive nothing but the divine and heavenly.* We mark here how a certain transcendental bent of religious feeling, operating to repress the understanding, might find its satisfaction in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Radbert endeavoured to prove the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and the necessity of partaking of it, in order to attain to eternal life, from the well-known passage in the sixth chapter of John. And we see from the way in which he expresses himself on this subject,† that in his times the *communion* as well as the *baptism of infants* still prevailed. But we also see how, through the more clearly developed consciousness of the relation of the two sacraments to each other, the custom of infant-communion would gradually become obsolete. The question arose whether, in the case of those which died before partaking of the eucharist, any injury would be entailed by this omission, which he answered in the negative, because such infants being placed in communion with Christ by baptism, attained immediately to the intuition of him in their state of purity to which they had come by that sacrament.‡

The work of Paschasius Radbert, being the first in the Western church in which this doctrine was so distinctly expressed, created a great sensation. Men found in the writings of the church-fathers, particularly of Augustin, much which seemed to conflict with such a theory. He himself was afterwards constrained to own, that *many* doubted § whether

* C. 2 : Divinus spiritus, qui in nobis est, etiam per eandem gratiam ampliatur eosdemque sensus nostros ad ea percipienda instruit et componit, ita sane, ut non solum gustum interius ad mystica perducat, verum et visum atque auditum, nec non odoratum et tactum, ita tenuis quodammodo illustrat, ut nihil in eis nisi divina sentiantur, nihilque nisi celestia.

† C. 19.

‡ Et ideo non obesse credimus, eos viaticum non accepisse hujus sacramenti, quia in nullo post perceptam vitam declinaverunt a via, donec perventum est ad veritatem, in qua sempiterna et vera est vita. c. 19.

§ In his letter to the monk Frudegard, opp. Paris, 1618, fol. 1619. Quæris de re, ex qua multi dubitant.

the body of Christ, in the eucharist, was the same body as that in which he was born, suffered, and rose again. Frudegard, a monk, proposed doubts to him on this particular point, citing various passages from Augustin, which had at first occasioned perplexity in his own mind respecting the same subject. Paschalis was persuaded that all doubts would be removed by attending to Christ's words at the institution, and in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, and endeavoured to explain Augustin's language according to his own view. Not all, certainly, to whom those words of Paschasius Radbert were offensive, had the same positive view of the Lord's Supper. To many, those expressions were offensive because it seemed to follow from them that Christ's glorified body descended to the earth, and became subject to sensible affections. They held fast to the older view, that as the divine Logos in Christ had assumed a human nature, so in the Holy Supper he assumed immediately, by a miracle of almighty power, a body under the forms of the bread and wine, which was therefore another body of the incarnate Logos, a medium for the communication of a divine life.*

* This view seems to be found in the anonymous tract belonging to these times, which has been published by Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. IV. P. II. f. 592*, and in which he thinks that he recognizes the letter of Rabanus Maurus to the abbot Egilo, which letter was written in opposition to those expressions of Paschasius Radbert. We believe we see this view expressed in the following words: "Divinitas verbi facit, ut unum sit corpus unius agni, et hoc ideo, quia et illud et istud verum est corpus." Respecting the end and purpose of the communication of Christ in the eucharist, it is here said: "Ut discant nihil aliud esurire quam Christum, nihil sentire nisi Christum, nihil aliud sapere, non aliunde vivere, non aliud esse quam corpus Christi." A remarkable story by this author, who had perhaps been a missionary among the Bulgarians, by no means makes it clear that a large number of the Bulgarians had not as yet been converted, but rather proves the opposite. Christianity must have already produced a great impression among the people; hence there had arisen among the heathen an intermixture of pagan and Christian notions, the belief in Christ as a god among the other gods, and the pagan views might very easily find a point of coincidence in the doctrine of the eucharist, as it was then taught. A respectable pagan requested this author to drink, as it was the custom of the heathen to drink, to the honour of their gods—in illius Dei amore, qui de vino sanguinem sum facit. It seems to be assumed also, in this tract, that none but the faithful received the body of Christ. The same perhaps was the view from which Rabanus Maurus combated Pascha-

Some time after the year 844 Paschasius Radbert dedicated to king Charles the Bald, as a Christmas gift, a second edition of his work on the Holy Supper, better adapted to popular use,* requesting him to favour its spread; and that monarch, perceiving the diversity of opinion on this subject among the learned, sought counsel again of Ratramnus, the monk of Corbie, who was thus led to write his work, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. Without mentioning the name of Paschasius Radbert, who was his own abbot, and whom therefore he could not decently offend, he entered immediately, in this book, into the investigation of two questions strictly connected with Radbert's doctrine of the Holy Supper;—whether the bread and wine, when consecrated, were called body and blood of Christ after a sacramental, improper manner (in *mysterio*), or in the true and *proper* sense; and whether it was the same body as that in which Christ was born, suffered, and rose from the dead? The two questions were in his opinion closely connected, and ought to be examined together. The conclusion he arrived at was this—either the change which takes place in the outward elements in the eucharist is a sensuous, sensibly perceptible change, in which case the body and blood of Christ must also be manifest to the senses, and wherever a sensible perception takes place, faith is no longer required; or the change which here transpires is a secret, spiritual one, manifesting itself only to faith; and that which is wrought by it is something spiritual and divine, which only the inner man can appropriate by faith. The bread and wine then are not the body and blood of Christ in the proper, but only in a secret, spiritual sense; and it is not therefore the same natural body of Christ as that in which he was born, died, and rose again; but it is this body in another sense, an

sus Radbert; see his Letters to Heribald, bishop of Auxerre (*Autissiodorensis*), published under the name of the *Liber pœnitentialis* in Steuart. *tomus singularis insignium auctorum*, Ingoldstadt, 1616, c. 33, where he himself cites his own letter on the doctrine of the eucharist, probably written on occasion of these controversies, and which has not as yet been published.

* The address to the king, published by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. O. B. Sæc. IV. P. II. f. 135*. *Hinc inde, ut condignum est, ad superventura dici dominici festa missuri sunt auri argentique et vasorum diversi generis munera, variæ suppellectilis vestium ornamenta atque phalerata equorum cæterorumque animalium quæque præcipua.*

image and pledge of *this* body.* Ratramnus now concluded: the bread and wine remain after being consecrated the same for sensuous perception as they were before; the change therefore can only be a change of that other kind, and the bread and wine can only be called body and blood of Christ in that other sense. Paschasius Radbert had, it is true, also taught the doctrine of a *conversio* secretly wrought by the Spirit of God, perceptible only by faith, but his assertion respecting the way in which bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ seemed to Ratramnus inconsistent with that view. He referred to the fact, that the mingling of the wine and water in the sacramental cup was considered a symbol of Christ's union with the church; and from this he drew the conclusion that in the same sense as the water was called a symbol of the church, in that same sense the wine was called a symbol of the blood, and the bread a symbol of the body of Christ. He cites the words of Christ in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, with Augustin's interpretation of them. Christ himself here says, that he spoke of his body and blood not in the proper, but in an improper, spiritual sense; he pointed away from the flesh to the spirit, from carnal sight to spiritual understanding.

Ratramnus' view is as follows: as the divine Word dwells in the natural body of Christ, so it unites itself with the bread and wine; and hence both, as mediums for the communication of the divine Logos, or of spiritual fellowship with Christ, are called, in an improper sense, body of Christ. Bread and wine produce, after the consecration, an effect on the souls of believers which they cannot produce by their natural qualities. Believers are made conscious, at the celebration of the Holy Supper, of a spiritual communion with Christ, or of the communication of the divine Logos. This Ratramnus transferred, as something objective, to the outward elements themselves. In this sense he spoke of a *conversio* of the bread and wine into the body of Christ. And in this reference he said at the same time, that what outwardly appears is not the thing itself, but only an image of the thing; but that which

* Quia *fides* totum, quicquid illud totum est, adspicit, et oculus carnis nihil apprehendit, intellige, quod non in specie, sed in virtute corpus et sanguis Christi existant, quæ cernuntur.

the soul feels, and takes into its consciousness, is the truth of the thing—it is *that word* of God (the Logos) which nourishes and gives life to the soul. He affirms that the word of God, as the invisible bread, which dwells after an invisible manner in this sacrament, imparts life and nourishment, after an invisible manner, by means of this communion, to the souls of believers.* Paschasius Radbert had said, in reference to the passage Ps. lxxviii. 24—here the manna is called the bread of angels; by this, however, could not be understood *bodily* food, the proper manna, but only what was prefigured thereby, Christ, who is the bread of life even for the angels (Christus cibus angelorum), for all that pertains to the eating of the body of Christ is of a spiritual and divine nature.† To this passage Ratramnus also refers; but he *concluded* from this same passage that what was meant could only be a spiritual union with Christ, the spiritual power of the Logos, of which the angels stood in need as well as men.‡ Paschasius found in the passage 1 Cor. xi. a type of the communication of Christ in the eucharist; § Ratramnus, on the other hand, understood this not barely in a typical sense, but he inferred from the explanation of St. Paul that the Jews at that time received the body of Christ in the same manner as believing Christians now do; that both in like manner could be understood of a spiritual communication of the Logos, there through the medium of the manna, as here through the medium of the bread and wine. ||

According to Radbert's view, even the unbelieving received the objectively present body of Christ, though not to their saving benefit. According to Ratramnus, on the contrary, the way in which the divine Logos communicates himself in the eucharist, presupposes the spiritual susceptibility, the spiritual organ of faith. Again, we find in Paschasius Radbert that

* Verbum Dei, qui est panis invisibilis, invisibiliter in illo existens sacramento, invisibiliter participatione sui fidelium mentes vivificando pascit.

† Fol. 1566: Ac per hoc unde vivunt angeli, vivit et homo, quia totum spirituale est et divinum in eo quod percipiet homo.

‡ Utrumque hoc incorporeo gustu nec corporali sagina, sed spiritualis verbi virtute.

§ L. c. c. 5.

|| Inerat corporeis illis substantiis spiritualis verbi potestas quæ mentes potius quam corpora credentium pasceret atque potaret. According to the edition of Paris, 1673, with a French translation, pag. 125.

view of the sacrifice of the mass which had commonly prevailed from the time of Gregory the Great. On the contrary, Ratramnus designates the eucharist as being only a commemorative celebration of Christ's sacrifice, by which remembrance Christians should make themselves susceptible of partaking of the divine grace of redemption.* "But when we shall have attained to the intuition of Christ," he concludes, "we shall no longer need such instruments to remind us of that which infinite grace has suffered for our sakes; for, beholding him face to face, we have no further occasion to be stimulated by the good of external, temporal things; but by the contemplation of the truth itself, we shall understand how much we owe to the author of our salvation."†

Furthermore, it is said that the above-mentioned John Scotus was prevailed upon by king Charles the Bald to compose a tract on this disputed question; and he, likewise, is said to have protested against the views of Paschasius Radbert. Though, at a later period, the writings of Ratramnus and of John Scotus were confounded together,‡ yet it does not follow from this that the whole report about the existence of such a tract of Scotus had arisen barely from a confusion of names. It is in itself probable that, as John Scotus enjoyed the highest reputation for extensive learning, and, on this account, stood in eminent favour with Charles the Bald, he, as well as Ratramnus, would be asked by the king to give his judgment on this controversy. We should take into the account also that Hinkmar, of whom we cannot suppose that he would be likely to confound the two men together, mentions, among several erroneous doctrines, actually found in the writings of John Scotus, this error, that in the sacrament of the altar the true body and the true blood of Christ were not present, but only a memorial of his true body and blood.§ It

* Ut quod gestum est, in præterito præsentī revocet memoriæ ut illius passionis memores per eam efficiamur divini muneris consortes, per quam sumus a morte liberati. pag. 211.

† Cognoscentes, quod ubi pervenerimus ad visionem Christi, talibus non opus habebimus instrumentis, quibus admoneamur quid pro nobis immensa benignitas sustinuerit.

‡ As Lauf, in his acute and discriminating essay on this subject in the *Studien und Kritiken* (Bd. I. St. IV.) has certainly shown.

§ Tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus. De prædestinatione c. 31. T. I. opp. f. 232.

may at least be inferred with certainty, from the above-cited principal work of John Scotus, that he must have been an opponent of the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert, and that in opposing the latter he would agree with Ratramnus on many points, though his particular view could not be the same. He affirmed, for example, such a deification of the humanity of Christ after his resurrection as that, by virtue of it, his human nature rose above the limitations of a finite existence, and of the corporeal world.* He held to a ubiquity of Christ's glorified human nature, which was no longer circumscribed by the limits of a finite state of being.† He would, therefore, on this ground, have considered the stories concerning the appearances of Christ's body, which Paschasius Radbert had brought forward to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, as utterly untenable.‡ According to this view he might hold the bread and wine in the eucharist to be simply symbols of the deified, omnipresent humanity of Christ, which communicated itself in a real manner to recipient, believing minds.

These attacks on his doctrine of the Lord's Supper could not, however, unsettle the convictions of Paschasius, for these convictions were intimately connected with his whole way of thinking. In a book which he wrote after these objections to his doctrine had already become known to him,§ he took

* *Nulli fidelium licet credere, ipsum post resurrectionem ullo sexu detineri "in Christo enim Jesu neque masculus est neque femina" sed solum verum et totum hominem, corpus dico et animam et intellectum, absque ullo sexu vel aliqua comprehensibili forma, quoniam hæc tria in ipso unum sunt, et Deus facta sine proprietatum transmutatione vel confusione, una persona locali et temporali motu carens, dum sit super omnia loca et tempora Deus et homo. Vid. l. V. De division. natur. c. 20, f. 242.*

† *Si ergo transformata caro Christi est in Dei virtutem et spiritus incorruptionem, perfecto ipsa caro virtus est et incorruptibilis spiritus, ac si Dei virtus et spiritus ubique est, non solum super loca et tempora, verum etiam super omne quod est, nulli dubium, quia ipsa caro in virtutem et spiritum transformata, nullo loco contineatur, nullo tempore mutetur, sed sicut Dei virtus et spiritus, verbum videlicet, quod etiam in unitatem sibi substantiæ acceperat, omnia loca et tempora et universaliter omnem circumscriptionem excedat. l. V. c. 38, f. 296.*

‡ *Proinde non immerito redarguendi sunt, qui corpus Dominicum post resurrectionem in aliqua parte mundi conantur adstruere et localiter et temporaliter moveri et in eo sexu, in quo apparuit mundo intra mundum detineri. l. V. f. 243.*

§ The twelfth book of his commentary on Matthew; for the ninth

notice of them, and inveighed against those who talked only of signs and symbols in the eucharist, as if man still lived in the age of types and shadows, as if the reality of them all had not appeared in Christ.*

This controversy was continued into the tenth century; yet the more spiritual views of a Ratramnus were gradually forced to give way, as heretical, to the prevailing mode of thinking,† although the expressions of Paschasius Radbert still gave offence to many. To many he seemed to be presumptuously seeking to determine too much concerning things incomprehensible. A Ratherius of Verona thought it important to hold fast that, although the colour and the taste of the bread and wine remained, yet, by a miracle of God's almighty power it became the true body and the true blood of Christ; and he utterly repelled, as curious questions, the inquiries whether the substance of the bread was removed, and the body of Christ brought down in an invisible manner, or whether the bread was changed into the body of Christ. That which is an object of faith excludes these subtle inquiries, by which men would penetrate beyond what is given. We should rest content with Christ's words.‡ Perhaps from the same point of view Herigar, abbot of the monastery of Laub, in the territory of Liege—the monastery where Ratherius had received

book of this commentary he began after he had resigned his post as abbot, after the year 851.

* Unde miror, quid velint nunc quidam dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis, sed in sacramento, virtutem carnis et non carnem, virtutem sanguinis et non sanguinem, figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus, cum hic species accipit veritatem, et figura veterum hostiarum corpus. In Matth. l. XII. c. 14.

† The archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 950, had to contend with ecclesiastics who asserted: Panem et vinum post consecrationem in priori substantia permanere et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non verum Christi corpus. See the passage from an ancient account of his Life, in Mabillon, *Analecta*, T. I. pag. 207.

‡ Sed ejus corporis caro sit ista, rogas, importune forsitan, ut sese vanitas habet humanæ curiositatis et si delata ipsa (caro Christi) et panis forsitan invisibiliter sublatus aut ipse in carnem mutatur. Then, after citing the words of Scripture: Habes ejus sit corporis caro ista et sanguis, tanto certius, quanto veritatis ejusdem, quæ loquitur, voce instruimur. De cæteris quæso ne solliciteris. Si mysterium est, non valet comprehendere, si fidei, debet credi, non vero discuti. Vid. Ratherii epistola I. ad Patricium, opera ed. Ballerin. f. 523.

his education, and an eminent seat of learning amid the barbarism of the tenth century—wrote a book, near the close of this century, against Paschasius Radbert.* The famous Gerbert composed a tract on purpose to palliate those expressions of Radbert which had been found offensive, wishing to preserve, for the edification of the church, a book, which served to promote faith in the true body of Christ.†

Thus we find three tendencies in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The sternly-pronounced doctrine of transubstantiation, in the sense of Radbert—the milder view of those who were not satisfied with Radbert's mode of expressing himself, and who, without determining anything further, were for holding fast only to this, that bread and wine, after the consecration, are the true body of Christ—and the more spiritual theory of Ratramnus, which had to meet an increasingly decided opposition from the spirit of the times. The opposition to this latter tendency, against which the reigning spirit was too strongly set, would gradually serve to promote the victory of the doctrine of transubstantiation—an event brought about under the controversies excited by Berengarius, of which we shall now proceed to speak. Though the reigning tendency of spirit favoured more and more the doctrine of transubstantiation expressed by Radbert, yet the controversy with him had as yet led to no decision of the contest between the opposite tendencies.‡

* In the history of the abbots of this monastery, in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* T. II. f. 744, it is said of him: Congessit contra Rathertum multa Catholicorum patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini; from which it is impossible to find out what his own views were.

† Gerbert's book, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, published by Petz in the *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, T. I. P. II. f. 133—the same which Cellot had published before in an incomplete form, as an anonymous production, in the appendix to his *historia Gotheschalci*.

‡ The language of pope Nicholas in the same age, is by no means favourable to the doctrine of transubstantiation: *Panis, qui offertur, panis est quidem communis, sed quando ipse sacramento sacratus fuerit, corpus Christi in veritate fit et dicitur. Sic et vinum modicæ aliquid dignitatis existens* (these words, though they do not essentially affect the sense of the whole passage, I give according to a necessary emendation) *ante benedictionem postsanctificationem spiritus et sanguis Christi efficitur.* In the second letter to the emperor Michael, Harduin V. fol. 125. We should be careful to observe here the point of comparison, seen from the connection in which the passage is found. *Before*: ordinary stone

Berengarius was born at Tours, probably near the beginning of the eleventh century. He received his theological education in the flourishing school of Fulbert, at Chartres, whose paternal love of his pupils was ever preserved in lively remembrance by Berengarius, as it was by all his scholars.* That wise and pious teacher was not satisfied with imparting to his scholars all possible knowledge, but he regarded it of the greatest moment to take care for the welfare of their souls. One of Berengar's fellow-students at that time, named Adelmann, in a letter written at a later period, of which letter we shall have occasion to speak in a future page, reminded him of those hearty conversations which they had at eventide, while walking solitarily with their preceptor in the garden, how he spoke to them of their heavenly country, and how sometimes, unmanned by his feelings, interrupting his words with tears, he adjured them by those tears to strive with all earnestness to reach that heavenly home, and for the sake of this to beware, above all things, of that which might lead them from the way of truth handed down from the fathers. Berengarius certainly possessed a heart not unsusceptible to such admonitions: but he possessed, also, a more liberal spirit of inquiry than his teacher; and it was impossible for him, when once this spirit had been awakened by the teachings of Fulbert himself, to confine himself within the bounds which the latter prescribed. If we may credit the sayings of his opponents, which, we must confess, bear the impress of spiteful exaggeration, this more liberal tendency of Berengarius, which

becomes, by consecration, an altar—a mensa sancta; *after*: the cross was simple wood; but, after having been formed into this shape, sacra est et dæmonibus terribilis, propter quod in ea figuratus est Christus.

* When, after a long series of years, Adelmann, then president of the cathedral school in Liege (afterwards, from A.D. 1048, bishop of Brescia), wrote to Berengarius, his fellow-student, and whom he therefore called his Collectaneus, he thus spoke of the old teacher, who had been so dear to them, but who had been now for a long time dead: Nos sanctam vitam salubremque doctrinam catholici et christianissimi viri una experti sumus et nunc ejus apud Deum precibus adjuvari sperare debemus, nec ille putandus est memoriam, in qua nos tanquam in sinu materno semper ferebat, amisisse, nec caritas Christi, qua sicut filios amplectabatur, extincta est in eo, sed absque dubio memor nostri et diligens plenius, quam cum in corpore mortis hujus peregrinaretur, invitat ad se votis et tacitis precibus. See this letter of Adelmann, in the edition of C. A. Schmidt. Brunsvici. 1770, p. 3.

strove after independence, had already shown itself at an early period, in the way in which he criticised, before his fellow-students, the lectures of his preceptor.* After leaving this school he occupied himself for a while in his native city, Tours, in pursuing and teaching secular learning; then he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the ancient fathers.† The esteem which he had acquired by his knowledge and his piety procured for him, at first, the office of Scholasticus (superintendent of a cathedral school) in the church of Tours, and afterwards the place of archdeacon, at Angers. The benevolent zeal which he manifested, in sustaining and encouraging the efforts of all who sought after knowledge, gained him scholars and friends throughout all France.‡ It was objected, however, to him and to his school, that he was constantly deviating from the beaten tract; that he was for striking out his own path, in matters both of secular and of ecclesiastical science—a proof of the independence and freedom of judgment with which he pursued all his inquiries.§ Thus, for example, he studied to make improvements in grammar, and endeavoured to introduce a new pronunciation of Latin.|| But these objections related

* The words of Guitmund are in the first book of his work *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia*. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 441. He says of Berengarius, against whom this book is directed: *Is ergo cum juveniles adhuc in scholis ageret annos, ut ajunt, qui eum tunc noverunt, clarus ingenii levitate ipsius magistri sensum non adeo curabat, condiscipulorum pro nihilo reputabat; but in this whole passage it is impossible to mistake the tone of passion, of exaggerating declamation.*

† Adelman, in his letter to Berengar: *Audivi jam pridem te sæcularibus literis vale fecisse atque sacris lectionibus sedulo insudare*. ed. Schmid. pag. 31.

‡ The abbot Durand says of Berengar: *Cui plures Francorum, nonnulli quoque Normannorum, quos aut ipse docuerat aut in discendi studio aliquantisper joverat, plurimum favoris dependebant. De corpore et sanguine Christi*. P. IX. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437.

§ Adelman's words: *Quod ajunt te novitatum captatorem, veteres accusare atque probatissimos scriptores artium exauctorare, adeo ut Priscianum, Donatum, Boëtium prorsus contempnas, multaque eorum dicta, quæ eruditorum omnium usu comprobante ad nos usque demanarunt, opposita auctoritate tua evertere coneris*. l. c. p. 31.

|| L. c. *Juvenes quosdam, qui ad nos descenderant, in claustris suis a prælatiis eorum regulariter pulsatos esse, eo quod in lectionibus ecclesiasticis accentus tuos insolentes usurparent, auresque fratrum aliter imbutas inusitatis quorundam verborum prolotionibus offenderent.*

at first only to matters not connected with the interests of the faith; and his good reputation for orthodoxy would not thereby be endangered, nor the general estimation in which he was held be diminished. Had it been otherwise the hermits of that district would not have invited him to compose an Exhortatory Discourse for the use of their order. The discourse which he wrote for this purpose is an important document, on account of the light it throws on the character of Berengarius.* It exhibits, to a remarkable degree, that vivacity and that clearness of method by which Berengar's style was distinguished from the common mode of writing in his times. We see plainly that he was a man in whom the love of science had by no means extinguished or dulled the interest for Christian piety. We see in his way of judging respecting the dangers of the eremitic life, that while he would not reject a mode of life which stood so high in the estimation of his age, he was ready to attack, with the freedom of the Christian spirit, the ascetical prejudice by which this mode of life was so over-valued, giving special prominence to the thought that men, in withdrawing outwardly from the world, still did not escape from its snares, but that they carried its spirit within them, and must always have to struggle with it. We see again that he had vitally appropriated Augustin's doctrine concerning grace; and that this was considered by him of great importance to the growth of the inward life. Augustin, who was revered by this whole school above all others,† had also contributed, in no small degree, to shape the development of Berengar's dogmatical views, as well as his aims and habits as a practical Christian; and perhaps on this ground the opposition of Berengarius, as we find it expressed in Claudius of Turin and others, in the middle ages, to the prevailing tendency of the church doctrine, would have been more fully evolved, had he not been obliged, by the controversies in which he was constantly engaged, to have his mind wholly occupied with some one point, where it remained fixed, and had not his

* Published in Martene et Durand *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, T. I. f. 191.

† Guitmund says in his I. III. *De eucharistiæ sacramento*, f. 463: "Si ergo vobis, O Berengariani, Augustinus, ut solet, clarissimus est," and "dicit vobis Augustinus vester."

further progress been cheeked and hindered by the unsettled fortunes of his life.

“The hermit,” said he in the letter just mentioned, “is alone in his cell, but sin loiters about the door with enticing words, and seeks admittance. I am thy beloved, says she, whom thou didst court in the world. I was with thee at the table, slept with thee on thy couch; without me, thou didst nothing. How darest thou think of forsaking me? I have followed thy every step; and dost thou expect to hide away from me in thy cell? I was with thee in the world, when thou didst eat flesh and drink wine; and shall be with thee in the wilderness, where thou livest only on bread and water. Purple and silk are not the only colours seen in hell—the monk’s cowl is also to be found there. Thou, hermit, hast something of mine. The nature of the flesh which thou wearest about thee is my sister, begotten with me, brought up with me. As long as the flesh is flesh, so long shall I be in thy flesh. Dost thou subdue thy flesh by abstinence?—thou becomest proud; and lo! sin is there. Art thou overcome by the flesh, and dost thou yield to lust?—sin is there. Perhaps thou hast none of the mere human sins, I mean such as proceed from sense; beware then of devilish sins. Pride is a sin which belongs in common to evil spirits and to hermits.” And he recommends as the only sure preservative against it, prayer for divine grace—persevering prayer, which the pure in heart will never suffer to sleep. “I exhort you not to rely on your own strength, like the heretic Julian,* in the *Demetrias* ;”—then quoting some remarks from this letter, he proceeds, “I think otherwise. The Christian contest rests in this, that each, in the consciousness of his frailty, throws himself entirely on grace, and finds that with his own strength alone he can do nothing but sin.”

The high regard in which Berengarius was held by his contemporaries appears from another fact. A quarrel arose between a bishop and the chapter of his cathedral. Berengarius was called in to act as mediator. He advised the parties to acknowledge the wrong which each had done to the other, and setting passion aside, to settle the difficulty by mutual concessions.†

* Pelagius is meant.

† Martene et Durand, T. I. f. 195.

Perhaps he was first induced by the work of Ratramnus* to make the doctrine of the Lord's Supper a matter of particular investigation. We might infer this, though not with absolute certainty, from the fact, that wherever the question related to the eucharist, he always began with speaking of this work; but it is quite possible, also, that the offence which he, as well as others, took at Radbert's language, was what first led him to consult the work of Ratramnus, and that the perusal of that treatise not only confirmed him in his opposition, but induced him to carry it still further.

Some time between the years 1040 and 1050 he began to speak favourably of that view of the Lord's Supper which was presented in the work of Scotus or of Ratramnus, and to represent the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert as contrary to reason, to the sacred Scriptures, and to the older church fathers. The report that on this point he combated the common opinion, was spread by his numerous scholars through all parts of France and of Germany.† It came to the ears of his early friend Adelman, then archdeacon at Liege. He was said to teach, that not the true body and the true blood of Christ were in the Holy Supper, but a symbol of them.‡ Adelman inquired about this of his friend, in a letter which

* For unquestionably everything said amid these controversies respecting the book of Scotus applies so exactly to the work of Ratramnus, as has been demonstrated in the above-cited dissertation of Lauf, that we certainly have reason for supposing the two writings were confounded together.

† Adelman, then archdeacon at Liege, wrote him the report was everywhere spread, ut non solum Latinas, verum etiam Teutonicas aures, inter quas tamdiu peregrinor, repleverint, quasi te ab unitate sanctæ matris ecclesiæ divulseris et de corpore ac sanguine Domini aliter quam fides catholica teneat, sentire videaris. p. 5.

‡ Non esse verum corpus Christi, neque verum sanguinem, sed figuram quandam et similitudinem. From these words it can by no means be gathered, as Stäudlin asserts in his Essay on Berengar, in the Archiv. für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, II. 1, that Adelman had heard his friend accused of holding Docetic views of Christ's body. The point in discussion here, as appears from the connection, and in the whole letter, is simply the relation of Christ's body to the eucharist. The object is to show that the true body was not present, but only a symbol of it. Berengar, it is true, always insists that when he speaks of Christ's body in the eucharist, he means nothing but the true body, as he was far from everything like Docetism. But from this it by no means follows that his opponents had ever charged him with holding Docetic opinions.

has not come down to us. Receiving no answer to this letter, which probably never reached its destination, he wrote him, two years later, a second letter, earnestly entreating and conjuring him to restrain that prurient curiosity which would not be satisfied without explaining and comprehending everything.* Certain conversations passed also between a bishop Hugo, of Langres, and Berengar, on this subject. In these conferences, the latter must have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and spoken of a spiritual presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, or a presence to the eye of faith, to believers. To the bishop of Langres also this appeared a dangerous error; and he traced it to the same cause as Adelmann had done. For this reason he afterwards wrote, and addressed to Berengar a work on the subject, in which he treats him with great respect.† In this work, he maintains that bread and wine cannot be called in the true sense body and blood of Christ, while it is assumed that the substance of the bread and wine still remain. He finds something self-contradictory in the language of those who talk of a *corpus intellectuale*.‡

Berengarius hoped to find a more favourable hearing from his friend who was at that time prior of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, the celebrated Lanfranc, widely known as a restorer of scientific culture in those districts. He was surprised to learn that a man of his spirit should so zealously defend Paschasius Radbert, and style the opposite doctrine of John Scotus heretical. Berengar thought he could not pos-

* He says characteristically: *Odit Dominus nimios scrutatores*, and as proof he adduces our Lord's rebuke of Nicodemus, John iii. 10, *qui baptismi mysterium curiosius investigans gravi repulsus eulogio*.

† He ever speaks of him as a man who on many accounts was entitled to the utmost respect, in *quibusdam reverendissime*.

‡ Among other objections, he states that if it should be held the body of Christ is said to be in the eucharist only because the same saving virtue proceeds from this sacrament as from the body of Christ, the peculiar nature by which the eucharist is distinguished from other sacraments would thereby be destroyed, and the name of baptism, or of any other sacrament, might just as well be applied to it. *At si panis et vini sacramentum ob solam salutis potentiam cum nato et passo unum atque idem est, similiter auctori nihil refert, hoc sacramentum eodem judicio baptismum vel esse vel dicere vel quicquid in sacramentis salubriter celebratur*. See his *Tractatus de corpore et sanguine Christi*, *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 417*.

sibly have searched the sacred Scriptures carefully enough on this doctrine; and deficient as he felt himself to be in this respect,* yet he proposed that, before such judges or hearers as Lanfranc might choose, they should enter into a joint investigation of the subject. Until this should be done, he must not take it ill of him, if he said that if John Scotus, whose opinion of the Lord's Supper he himself approved, must be considered a heretic, then with the same propriety might Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and others, be considered heretics.† Lanfranc being then absent at Rome, the letter did not come first into his own hands. Its contents were known in Rome; and at a council held there by pope Leo IX., in 1050, the matter was brought forward for discussion. Lanfranc avers, it is true, in his relation of these events, that he was compelled to clear himself before the council from the suspicion of heresy, which was thus brought upon him;‡ but it is plain from the character of the letter, as Berengar, when he accuses him of prevarication, rightly asserts,§ that such a letter could not have furnished the least occasion, even to the fiercest zealot, for throwing upon him a suspicion of that sort; and we are obliged, therefore, to suppose that Lanfranc, convicted in his own conscience of not having treated Berengar, before this council, as their ancient friendship should have led him to do, and perhaps of not being actuated by the purest motives, sought to palliate the matter by this disingenuous statement. At this council, Berengar was condemned unheard as a heretic. The pope himself, however, finding it impossible perhaps to shut his eyes to the injustice of this procedure, cited Berengar to appear before a council to be held the same year under his own presidency at Vercelli. It is on this occasion we may observe that high feeling of ecclesiastical rights which had ever been maintained in France, at least by *one party*. The

* *Quantumlibet rudis in illa scriptura*, he says of himself; from which expression of modesty, however, we can by no means infer that Berengar did not at that time feel certain that he was right: the contrary rather is expressed by his language.

† The letter published by D'Achery, in his notes to the Life of Lanfranc, in the edition of his works.

‡ In his tract *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. Venet. f. 171.

§ Berengar, in his tract *De sacra cœna*, Berolini. 1834, p. 36: *Qua fronte hoc scribere potuisti? Nec sani ergo capitis fuit, aliquid contra to suspicari de scripto illo.*

defenders of these principles advised Berengar not to obey the citation, since, according to the old ecclesiastical laws, his cause ought to be first tried in the French church; and only in case of an appeal put in to the pope, was there any authority for bringing it before his tribunal. Still he resolved to obey the summons. But on applying to king Henry II. of France, who was patron of the abbey of St. Martin, of Tours, for permission to make the journey, the king, taking advantage of the sentence already pronounced upon him at Rome, caused him to be thrown into prison, and his goods to be sequestered.† The pope did not attempt, however, to punish the French king for this contempt of his authority, nor to procure the liberation of Berengar; he did not even put off the trial till he could hear the defendant himself. A single passage, in which the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper was called a figure of the body and blood of Christ, read from the book of Ratramnus, was sufficient to rouse the fury of the zealots in the council, and one of them cried out, in language characteristic of his party: "Si adhuc in figura sumus, quando rem tenebimus?" (If we are yet in the figure, when shall we have the thing?) The book was committed to the flames.‡ When two clergymen, who had appeared as the defendant's advocates, began to speak, they were interrupted by the fury of the multitude, and the pope was obliged to have them arrested in order to save them.

But besides the bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, Berengar had many other friends among the bishops and eminent clergy of France, who effectually used their influence to procure his liberation from the king.§ Yet the persecu-

* Berengar, l. c. p. 41: In quo tamen nullam papæ debebam obedientiam. Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quæ nullus extra provinciam ad judicium ire cogendus est, personæ ecclesiasticæ.

† Berengar, l. c. p. 42. According to Berengar's testimony, p. 46, heresy only furnished the pretext; the king wanted to extort money from him to bestow on a worthless favourite.

‡ Berengar, l. c. p. 43.

§ Thus we find a letter of bishop Froilent of Senlis (Silvanectensis) to Berengar, which expresses great regard for him, acknowledges him to be a man of eminent piety, and begs an interest in his prayers. The same person informs him that he had made the king his firm friend: quod multum firmiter acquisivi tibi gratiam regis. Berengar himself requests Richard, an ecclesiastic who had some influence with the king, to pro-

tions he had suffered could not moderate his zeal against the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor school him to greater prudence. He felt himself impelled to defend publicly the truth stigmatized as heresy. He offered to prove before the king, or any other one, by the Holy Scriptures, that at the council of Vercelli the doctrine of Scotus was unjustly condemned, and the doctrine of Radbert wrongly approved.* Many of his friends, who agreed with him in his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and who were altogether disgusted with the fanatical heat of the zealots, yet disapproved the bold and incautious manner with which, in exposing the conduct of the heads of the church thus far in this matter, he dared to assail even the pope himself; † and they advised him to be more moderate in his zeal, to wait till he was called upon to give an account of the faith that was in him, and not unseasonably obtrude his opinions before men still incapable of entering into their deeper spiritual meaning; in other words, not to cast his pearls before swine.‡ Berengar followed this advice in part. He declined entering into private conversa-

cure for him an indemnification for his losses. See this letter in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* T. III. f. 400.

* In the letter above cited he says that, even if he did not receive that indemnification from the king, *me tamen præsto habet, in eo uno servire regis majestati, ut satisfaciam secundum scripturas illi et quibus velit, injustissime damnatum Scotum, &c.*

† Martene and Durand have published, in the first volume of their *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, f. 196, a remarkable letter, with the superscription—*Carissimo B... suus P...*, which latter is perhaps Berengar's old friend the Canonical (Primicerius) Paulinus of Metz. This person acknowledges him to be a witness for the truth, and expresses the wish that God would carry on the good work begun in him to perfection. He writes: *Quod in scripturis tuis de eucharistia accepi secundum quos posuisti auctores bene sentis et catholice sentis.* But then he adds: *sed quod de tanta persona (the pope) sacrilegum dixisti (that is, most probably, taking the last word but one as a masculine, that he had called Leo IX. a sacrilegum, as we find that he actually did; see his work De sacra cœna, ed. Berolinens. p. 36, near the end) non puto approbandum, quia multa humilitate tanto in ecclesia culmini est deferendum, etiamsi sit in ejusmodi quippiam non plene eliminatum.*

‡ That old friend wrote to him, in his own name and in that of the abbot of Gorzes (see above): *Rogamus etiam, ut sobrie in Domino semper sapias, neque profunditatem scripturarum, quibus non oportet, margaritas scilicet porcis projicias, præter quod de ea quæ in te est Christi fide omnibus præsentibus rationem reddere paratum te exhibeas.*

tion on the disputed doctrine with those in whom he could discover no spiritual sympathy with himself; but, on the other hand, he earnestly sought an opportunity to set forth and defend his doctrine before an assembly of bishops. His confidence in the power of truth inspired him with a strong hope that he would succeed in clearing himself before such an audience from the suspicion of heresy, and in obtaining for his doctrine a more general recognition. His confidence in the power of truth made him overlook the invincible difficulties which he would have to encounter from the prevailing spirit of his times. His opponents also anxiously waited for a council; for they were hoping, on much better grounds, they should be able by this means to put down effectually both Berengar and his erroneous doctrines. Nor were the plans of the zealots aimed against Berengar alone, but also against his more eminent friends—those who agreed with him in their general bent, and in their opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and who, although they by no means went with him on all points, yet however moderately they expressed themselves, were placed in the same category with himself; such, for example, as bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers. It was determined by king Henry I. of France that such a council should be held at Paris. Still many of the most violent of the zealots felt distrustful of such a council if it should be held without the concurrence of the pope. The character of this whole class is revealed by a letter which Deoduin, the then bishop of Liege, wrote to the king. He praises the king's zeal in this business; but he was afraid the false teachers would be allowed to present and defend their opinions before the council, as if the matter must first be investigated, when the truth was that the opponents of the doctrine of transubstantiation must be regarded as decided heretics. It was his opinion therefore, that the only question now to be proposed was, whether they would recant, or, refusing to do so, whether they should suffer the punishment they deserved.* If, on the other hand, they were permitted to go home unpunished from the council, it would be said, they could not be convicted of any error, and thus the evil

* Neque tam est pro illis concilium advocandum, quam de illorum supplicio exquirandum.

would be made worse. But as it was Deoduin's opinion, that the bishop Eusebius Bruno followed the Berengarian heresy, and a bishop could not be judged without the concurrence of the pope,* he therefore thought it advisable to let the matter rest till full power could be obtained from the pope to pass judgment on Eusebius Bruno as a bishop.† The representations of this fierce zealot could not prevent, however, the meeting of such a council; partly because the principle of ecclesiastical law, to which bishop Deoduin appealed, was by no means universally admitted in France, partly because bishop Eusebius Bruno was very generally esteemed to be an orthodox man. The council of Paris therefore was actually held.‡ Berengar set out to attend it, taking this opportunity

* According to the principles of the new ecclesiastical code, formed since the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals and pope Nicholas I., a code which had a large party in its favour, even in France, though there was also a party opposed to it.

† Ergo majestatem vestram omnes exoratum vellemus, ut interim illorum impiam, sacrilegam et nefariam assertionem audire contemneretis, donec accepta Romanæ sedis audientia dammandi potestatem haberetis. *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 532.*

‡ The reasons alleged by Lessing, in his *Berengarius Turonensis*, and assented to by Gieseler, seem to me insufficient—and in this I am of the same opinion with Stäudlin, *Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte*, II. 1.—to prove the falsity of what is said in express terms by the abbot Durandus of Troanne, a contemporary, in his tract *De corpore et sanguine Christi*. *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437*, respecting the convocation of such a council; though his report cannot be pronounced free from the objection of inaccuracy, especially in dates. Berengar's tract against Lanfranc, which is now published entire, and which throws a clear light on so many things connected with the history of his controversies, makes no mention, it is true, of this council; but this silence proves nothing, for nowhere in the tract does he give a full account of the connection of events, or take notice of the preceding transactions and controversies in France. Another argument against the truth of Durand's report Lessing finds in the circumstance that, according to it, an intercepted letter of Berengar to his old friend, the Primicerius Paulinus of Metz was presented before the council, in proof of his heresy, by the bishop of Orleans; while, according to Berengar's own statement (*De sacra cœna*, pag. 51), the bishop of Orleans was afterwards unable to produce at the council of Tours any evidence whatever against Berengar, but only appealed to the voice of common rumour. Now whether the statement of Durand or that of Berengar be incorrect, or whether the bishop of Orleans contradicted himself, still in any case it cannot be made out from a single misstatement of this kind in a relation of facts by a man who was unquestionably passionate and prone to exaggeration, that the whole story of this council at Paris was a fiction.

to visit his friends in Normandy; but he determined to avoid being drawn into any new disputes concerning his doctrine, now that he was looking forward to a public justification of his opinions at the council of Paris.* While on his journey, however, he probably obtained such information respecting the plots of his enemies at the council as convinced him that he was not to expect there a calm hearing, or even personal safety; he therefore thought it expedient to keep away.† The fears of Berengar were certainly not groundless. If the account given by Durand, abbot of Troanne, is not an exaggerated one, the council of Paris not only condemned Berengar and his adherents as heretics, but decreed that, unless they recanted, they should be punished with death.

Such was the perilous situation of Berengar when the papal legate, cardinal Hildebrand, came to France on other ecclesiastical business. For the transaction of this business a council was held in 1054 at Tours; and there the cause of Berengar, by which the minds of men were so deeply excited, must needs be called up again. To suppress such a heresy seemed to the bishops a matter of greater importance than all others. By universal acclamation Berengar was accused of holding that only bread and wine, but not the body and blood

* To this journey I refer Berengar's words, in his letter to the monk Ascelin in Normandy (in the edition of Lanfranc's works, ed. D'Achery not. in vitam Lanfranci, f. 19. ed. Venet.): Per vos igitur transiens disposueram omnino nihil agere cum quibuscunque de eucharistia, priusquam satisfacerem in eo episcopis, ad quos contendebam, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam scripturam. As Berengar, after the council of Vercelli, and after his liberation (compare the words above cited from his letter to Richard), immediately proposed that his doctrine should be subjected to such an examination, it is most suitable to refer the above words in his letter to Ascelin to a council which was to be held about this time. Besides, if he was speaking here of the council of Vercelli, he would have mentioned the pope with the bishops; and the circuitous route through Normandy agrees better, to say the least, with a journey from Angers or Tours to Paris, than with one from the same places to Italy.

† To this I refer the words of Berengar in the above-cited letter to Ascelin: Et nunc quod apud episcopos *agere susceperam* (which therefore he was unable to accomplish, quia non tutum erat) vellem, *si mihi tutum fieret*, saltem apud vos agere in audientia quorumcunque. With this agrees what Durand reports, that Berengar, terrore percussus, did not appear before the council: which he explains, of course, from his own point of view, as meaning that he was prevented by his consciousness of guilt.

of Christ, were in the eucharist. Hildebrand, a man of pre-eminent vigour and decision, as we have already had occasion to observe in the history of the papacy, did not mean to have his judgment influenced by the outcry of the multitude. He granted Berengar the calm hearing which had hitherto been denied him; and Berengar convinced the legate that his doctrine had been misrepresented. He explained to the satisfaction of Hildebrand,* that he recognized the bread and wine, after consecration, as the body and blood of Christ. The legate now agreed with him that the outcry in France should first be appeased, and that Berengar should then accompany him to Rome, in order that by the authority of pope Leo IX. the matter might be set for ever at rest.† He stood forth as mediator betwixt Berengar and the council. The first step was to appoint a committee, at the head of which stood the archbishop of Tours, for the purpose of giving him a preliminary hearing. Berengar expressed himself on the subject of the Lord's Supper precisely in the same manner to them as he had done before to Hildebrand. The other bishops signified that they also were satisfied with the explanation. The points of difference, probably through Hildebrand's influence, were

* With regard to Hildebrand's own views of the eucharist, which perhaps may be gathered from his conduct in this controversy, and from the declarations of Eusebius Bruno, hereafter to be noticed, we should be still be more clearly informed, if the passages cited under the name of a "magister Hildebrand," from a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, published by Peter Allix in his preface to the *Determinatio* of John Parisiensis or Pungens asinum on the eucharist, might with certainty be ascribed to cardinal Hildebrand. In this fragment, after an investigation of the different ways in which the conversio of the bread into the body of Christ may be conceived, the conclusion is arrived at, that nothing can be decided with certainty on this point; that the *conversio* therefore is the only essential part of the doctrine, namely, that bread and wine become body and blood of Christ, and that, with regard to the way in which that conversion takes place, men should not seek to inquire. This coincides with the view which evidently lies at the basis of the cardinal's proceedings; but whether the author was this Hildebrand must ever remain a very doubtful question, since it is not probable that, if a man, whose life constitutes an epoch in history, wrote a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, it should have been so entirely forgotten.

† *Cujus auctoritas superbiorum invidiam atque ineptorum tumultum compesceret*, thus Berengar himself relates, correcting the certainly inaccurate representation of this event by Lanfranc, in his second tract against him already referred to, p. 50 et seq. ed. Berolinens. His report bears on its face the stamp of truth.

not brought into discussion; and it was only required that Berengar should make the same confession before the assembled council. This was done. At this point some of the bishops began to manifest a suspicion about the sincerity of his confession, and proposed that he should be required to state on oath that he believed from the heart what he had expressed with his mouth. Bishop Eusebius of Bruno, and another of his friends, urged him to yield to the cry of the multitude, for the sake of restoring peace.* He followed their advice, as he believed he could swear to such a confession without denying a single conviction of his heart; for he held that the point in dispute between him and his opponents was not whether bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, but *in what sense they were so*; and as he believed that this confession could with more propriety be expressed from his own point of view than from that of his opponents, a point on which we may speak further when we come to examine his opinions. But his opponents represented the matter differently. Considering it solely from their own point of view, and unable to conceive how the bread and wine could be said to become body and blood of Christ, except in the sense of the doctrine of transubstantiation, they represented it as if he had been induced by fear to recant his opinions before this council, and profess the doctrine of the church, as they called the doctrine of transubstantiation, and as if he was then restored to the communion of the church by cardinal Hildebrand.† Consequently, when Berengar afterwards proceeded to set forth and defend his doctrine as he had done before, he was accused by them of having denied his confession, perjured himself, and relapsed into his old error. Quiet, therefore, could thus be restored to the French church only for a short time. Hildebrand, it is true, had made up his mind to employ a more certain and powerful means of securing this object by taking Berengar with him to Rome; but this purpose was frustrated by the death of Leo IX.

Berengar at length determined to resort to this means himself; and in 1059, during the papacy of Nicholas II., he repaired to Rome. He doubtless hoped that he should enjoy

* Ne tumultum compescere popularem suffugerem, says Berengar.

† So Lanfranc, Guitmund, Durand.

the powerful protection of Hildebrand; but in this he was disappointed. The party of blind zealots and brawlers was too mighty for him in Rome; the very phrase "spiritual participation of the body of Christ" excited them to the utmost fury.* He complained to the pope that he should be left exposed to the fury of these wild beasts. After having voluntarily undertaken so long and painful a journey he begged the privilege of a patient hearing. The pope said he had better leave the whole matter to cardinal Hildebrand. But the truth was, that in a case of this sort, where Hildebrand perceived the dominant spirit to be altogether against him, and where many even of those who were otherwise bound to him by the same interests, must be his opponents, that prelate either found himself unable, with all his vigour and firmness, to push the matter through with the same ease as he would when combating for the papistico-theocratical system; or else was unwilling to venture so much here when he had other interests to attend to of so much more consequence to himself.

Berengar was obliged, therefore, in the year 1059, to appear before an assembly of 113 bishops. If we may believe his own report, there were even in this assembly many like-minded with himself, but who felt themselves obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the brawlers, and dared not to speak.† Nor have we any reason to question his word, for the thing is not improbable.‡ After what had already occurred, he had to expect the worst. A confession of faith, drawn up by one of the most narrow-minded and boisterous zealots, cardinal Humbert, was laid before him. This was

* Berengar says concerning him, in his second book against Lanfranc, p. 72: *Qui nec audire poterant spirituales de corpore refectionem et ad vocem spiritualitatis aures potius obturabant.*

† Pag. 65: *Qui non consenserunt concilio illi et actibus ejus, qui veritatis non ignari et ipsi discipuli Jesu revera soli synodus erant dicendi, tantum propter metum Judæorum occulti.*

‡ Even Lanfranc gives it to be understood that Berengar had friends at Rome on whom he reckoned, though he explains this in his own way, namely that they had become his friends for other and extraneous reasons. His word are: *Cum sub Nicolao venisses Romam fretus iis, qui plus impensis a te beneficiis, quam ratione a te audita opem tibi promiserant.* Lanfranc de corpore et sanguine Domini, c. 2. Both may have been true, that there were those who, when students, had enjoyed his assistance (see above, p. 220), and those also who, when students, had followed his spiritual bent and doctrines.

purposely so worded as to cut off all possibility of resorting to a spiritual interpretation. The import of it was substantially as follows: that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not merely a sacrament, but the true body and the true blood of Christ; and that this body is touched and broken by the hands of the priests, and comminuted by the teeth of the faithful, not merely in a sacramental manner, but in truth."* As Berengar confesses, the fear of death unmanned him; he faltered, and taking the confession of faith in his hands, prostrated himself with it on the ground, thereby signifying his submission and repentance. He committed his writings to the flames with his own hands.† They now eagerly went to work, as Lanfranc himself says, and scattered abroad this confession in Germany, France, Italy, and in all the districts where the report of Berengar's heresy had spread, in evidence of his recantation.

Berengar, however, had only yielded to the fear of death *for that moment*. Returned to France, he once more taught his doctrine with the same boldness as before. In his correspondence with Lanfranc, who accused him of denying his convictions, and of downright perjury, and particularly in his second controversial tract against Lanfranc, he summed up the arguments in defence of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper,

* See opp. Lanfranc, f. 170.

† Lanfranc represents the matter thus. When Berengar came to Rome, he no longer dared defend the doctrines he had held, and of his own accord requested the pope and council to prescribe for him the faith which he should confess. He then publicly recited the confession of faith drawn up by Humbert, swore to it, and subscribed it. As we have already seen evidence that Lanfranc sometimes distorted facts to suit his own particular interest; as Berengar does not contradict him in *everything*, nor attempt in any way to explain away his denial of the truth which he had before taught, where he was under the necessity of doing it, if he had been disposed to vindicate or excuse himself at the expense of truth; and as he does, however, on *this point* so openly and confidently contradict him, we have certainly every reason to trust his report in this case rather than that of Lanfranc. He says, correcting the latter's statement, p. 26: *Manu, quod mendaciter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi, nam ut de consensu pronunciarem meo, nullus exegit, tantum timore præsentis jam mortis scriptum illud, absque ulla conscientia mea jam factum, manibus accepi.* And p. 61: *Confiteor et ego iniquitatem meam Domino, ut remittat impietatem peccati mei, quod prophetica, evangelica, et apostolica scripta in ignes conjicere minime satis exhorruui.* Comp. p. 73.

exposing, at the same time, the injustice and violence with which he had been treated at Rome, not even sparing the character of the pope. "In him," said he of Leo IX., "I found by no means a saint, by no means a lion of the tribe of Judah, not even an upright man. To be declared a heretic by him I account as nothing; for he showed himself to be a fool, both in this and in other matters."* So, in his other writings, he styled Leo not the pontifex, but the pompifex, the pompatiek; and the Roman church a council of vanity, and a church of malignants; not an apostolic see, but a seat of Satan.† He dared to speak of the frivolity, the ignorance, and the unbefitting manners of Nicholas II.,‡ whom he described as the tail of lying prophets. In citing the decrees of the older North-African councils, respecting the invalidity of the baptism performed by heretics, to prove that the majority in a council does not by any means always determine what the truth is, he compares, with bitter regret, the present with the earlier condition of the church. We see that he was a man who longed for a reformation of the church; but doubtless a reformation of another sort than the one then contemplated in the plan of Hildebrand. "That time," said he, "when religion flourished in the first bloom of her youth was a time when men distinguished for science and dignity of life were made bishops, in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws; when that which constitutes the greatest, nay, the sole ornament of the Christian religion, love, had not yet grown cold by the domination of wickedness; but when, rather, by the glowing fire of love, all impurity of heart was consumed, all darkness of the understanding dispelled by the purity of its light! But in

* Cum desperet etiam circa alia. See the second tract against Lanfranc, p. 34.

† So states a contemporary, the anonymous author edited by Chifflet, in *Bibl. patr. Ludg. T. XVIII. f. 835*: *Ultra omnes hæreticos Romanos pontifices et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam verbis et scriptis blasphemare præsumsit. Nempe Sanctum Leonem papam, non pontificem, sed pompificem, et pulpificem appellavit, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, vanitatis concilium et ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare.*

‡ *Nimia levitate Nicolaus ille, de cujus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere, ut sine injuria de illo proponi potuerit, propheta prophetans mendacium ipse est cauda.* In his second tract against Lanfranc, p. 71.

the times in which God has made it our lot to live, we see the annihilation of all religion; we see the sun turned into darkness, the moon into blood. We see how all confess God with words, but deny him by their works; how they say Lord! Lord! but do not the things he has commanded them.”*

Lanfranc had said that Berengar at Rome was induced to alter his opinion. To this the latter replies: “Very true; human wickedness could by outward force extort from human weakness a *different confession*; but a *change of conviction* is what God’s almighty agency alone can effect.”† Lanfranc had reproached him with an impious act of perjury. Berengar, who, as we have already observed, denied that he had ever taken such an oath, replied: “Even if I *had* taken it, yet, under the compunctions of repentance, I should not have considered myself bound by it. To take an oath, which never ought to have been taken, is to estrange one’s self from God; but to retract that which one has wrongfully sworn to, is to return back to God. Peter once swore that he knew not Christ. Had he persevered in that wicked oath he must have ceased to be an apostle.”‡ “By what just title,” says he to Lanfranc, “wouldst thou be a priest and a monk, if thou must always thus refuse the least pity to human weakness?§ Thou, priest, coldly passest by him whom robbers have left half dead; but God has already provided for me, so that I shall not be left alone.” He compares himself to Aaron and to Peter, who were liable to the same rebuke.|| He implores of all his readers their considerate compassion,¶ not because he had been a false teacher, but because he had been moved by the fear of death to cease defending the truth; because, at the command of the multitude, he had burned writings which contained nothing but gospel doctrine. He constantly maintains, in opposition to Lanfranc, that the voice of the majority, by which error has so often been stamped as truth, cannot decide as to what is truth. He sets the small minority of wise and discerning persons, possessed of the consciousness of truth, over against the multitudo ineptorum. The church, he said, stands not in the latter, but in the former. The consciousness

* L. c. p. 58.

† L. c. p. 59.

‡ L. c. p. 28.

§ L. c. p. 61.

|| L. c. p. 62.

¶ Misericordiæ viscera mihi compatiantur obsecro, p. 62.

of truth often retired into a few; seven thousand had not bowed the knee to Baal. He reminded him of the example of the few who remained with our Lord when all forsook him; of the few bishops who alone resisted Arianism when it over-spread the entire church, in the times of the Roman bishop Liberius, which few alone deserved the name of the church, the name of members of Christ.* As evidence from his own times, he points to the multitude, who had framed to themselves crude, anthropomorphic notions of God, compared with the few who had a more correct understanding of the image of God in man. Should the *majority*, then, decide in this case; should the church stand in the majority?"† Thus we see how, in this respect also, Berengar inclined to the protestant conception of the church, as a community developing itself from within, *proceeding forth from a spiritual and common appropriation of divine truth.*

Accordingly, he now styles the doctrine of transubstantiation an *ineptio, vecordia vulgi*. At the same time, however, he asserted that he by no means stood alone in his convictions respecting the Lord's Supper; there were many, of all ranks and orders, who abhorred the error of Lanfranc and Paschasius Radbert;‡ and even the declarations of his opponents show that Berengar was not wrong in saying that the number of those who thought like himself was by no means small; and perhaps many of those who in their own way had come to entertain similar views, were also embraced under the common heretical name of Berengarians.§

He went on with his work, disseminating his doctrine not only by what he wrote, but also by means of his scholars, through France; || and, as a teacher, he ever continued to exert a wide influence both in France and in other countries.¶

* Idonei cum paucis vocari ecclesia, vocari membra Christi.

† Nec sentiendum est cum eis, quanquam infinitissimos ad eorum comparationem, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt, negare nemo possit. Vid. p. 54, 116.

‡ Conscientiam tuam latere non potest, quam plurimos vel infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuam de sacrificio ecclesie execrentur errorem atque Paschasii. p. 54.

§ Vid. Durand. Troanens. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437.

|| The before cited anonymous author says: Hæresin suam clanculo per discipulos suos usquequaque non cessavit disseminare.

¶ We have evidence of this, also, in a letter of the Scholasticus Goza-

It turned out, perhaps through the influence of the powerful Hildebrand, that no further steps were taken against him in Rome. Pope Alexander II. simply exhorted him, in a friendly way, to forsake his sect, and give no further offence to the church; to which Berengar is said to have replied that he could not deny his real convictions.* No doubt it may have been the case, also, that in Rome as well as in France, there were some, who, following the principles of cardinal Hildebrand and of bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, sought, as had been done at Tours, by uniting the two parties on what both considered as essentials, and throwing aside those points which were matters of contention, to repress the controversy. The very words of Christ, to which men should cling with steadfast faith, without prying too curiously into their meaning, should, in the view of the persons just described, be this all-uniting symbol.† The bishop of Angers expressed himself very decidedly on this point. Berengar had fallen into a dispute with another canonical priest of Tours, named Gottfrid, a zealous defender of the doctrine of transubstantiation.‡ This antagonist he proposed to refute by certain citations from a

chin, of Mayence, written in the year 1060, to his former scholar, the Scholasticus Walcher, of Liege, published by Mabillon, in the 4th vol. of his *Analecta*. The old pious and faithful teacher could not look with complacency upon the newly-awakened spirit of inquiry. He complains: *Quidem pseudomagistri hac illac per villas pagosque urbisque circumcursant, novas Psalterii, Pauli, Apocalypsis lectiones tradunt; and then says: vide quam sanæ doctrinæ theologi de Turonensi emergant academia, cui præsidet ille apostolus satanæ Berengarius.* He calls this academy the *Babylon nostri temporis*. Vid. l. c. p. 383.

* This is stated by Chifflet's *Anonymus Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 385*. There was hardly any occasion for inventing a story of that sort.

† It is clear from the words of Eusebius Bruno, in his letter presently to be cited, that this was a plan actually pursued by many. Besides cardinal Hildebrand, the papal legate Gerald, and the archbishop of Besançon, had acted according to it. *Hoc consilio*, says Eusebius Bruno, *querimonia, quæ in præsentia Geraldii tunc legati apud Turonum emersit, sedata est. Hoc consilio eodem tumultus, qui in audientia domini Eldebranni (Hildebrandi) in eadem civitate efferbuit sopitus est, hac veridica confessione exactioni principis hujus nostri, in capellula, cujus in vestra epistola mentionem fecistis, satisfactum est, et rediviva pestis, quæ nescio quorum improbitate exagitata caput extulerat, domini Bisonticensis archiepiscopi et eruditorum, qui adfuerunt, auctoritate calcata est.*

‡ As Berengar styled it, the *ineptia atque insania Lanfranci*.

well-known work, which passed under the name of Ambrose, *De sacramentis*. He brought the matter before bishop Eusebius Bruno, requesting that the debate might be held in his presence, and that he would act as arbitrator. The bishop, who was anxious to see a stop put to this whole controversy, was not pleased with the proposal, and took the opportunity to state at length, in a letter to Berengar,* his own views respecting the whole matter. He expressed his regret that such a controversy had arisen at all, and that it had reached even to Angers.† Instead of entering into passionate disputes, it were far better, he said, to abide by the very fountain of truth itself. According to that, men ought to believe and confess that by the power and agency of the Word, by which all things were created, after the consecration by the priest, the bread became the true body and the wine the true blood of Christ. The question how this was done he repelled; referring it to God's almighty power, as in the case of all the miracles of sacred history. If it should now be asked, what the ancient church fathers taught on this subject, the inquirer, supposing him qualified for such investigations, should be referred to their writings, that after careful examination and a right understanding, he might be prepared to adopt thankfully, and without interrupting brotherly concord, what might seem to him most fully to accord, in those writings, with the gospel truth. He was far, he said, from despising the writings of the fathers, but he did not ascribe to them the same authority as to the gospel; for they themselves would not have assented to this, and he did not think it well to appeal to their sayings to decide so important a question,‡ because by improper citations from the fathers, which might chance to be corrupted or not correctly understood, or not fully explored,

* In the work of Franciscus de Roye de vita, hæresi et pœnitentia Berengarii. Andegavi, 1657. p. 48.

† Veritatis asserendæ an famæ quærendæ gratia nescio, Deus scit, hæc orta motaque quæstio, postquam Romani orbis maximam pæne partem peragravit, ad ultimum nos cum infami longinquorum et vicinorum redargutione acerrime pulsavit.

‡ Porro nos non patrum scripta contemnentes, sed nec illa qua evangelium legentes,—neque erim ipsi viventes et scribentes hoc voluerunt et in suis opusculis ne id fieret voluerunt,—eorum sententiis salva quæ eis debetur, reverentia in tantæ rei disceptatione abstinemus.

occasion of stumbling might be given to the church.* Enough would be found to satisfy their religious needs and to settle and confirm their faith, if men would but hold fast to those simple words of Christ, and, at the same time, peace would be preserved in the church. He concluded by declaring that henceforward he would have nothing at all to do with any dispute on this matter, either as a partisan, a hearer, or a judge; that he would never attend any synod which might be held on this subject, for the case had already been thrice disposed of by a tribunal in that province, and for the fourth time by a definitive sentence of the apostolical see.

From this letter it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the real views of Eusebius Bruno. One thing is indeed plain, that he did not wish to see the doctrine of transubstantiation fixed as a settled article of faith; in fact, had he not manifested this by his words and acts, he would not have come into the reputation of making common cause with Berengar. But it is quite possible that he agreed with Berengar more fully than he cared to confess in this letter. Perhaps he was more reserved about expressing with exactness his own views of the Lord's Supper from a regard to existing circumstances, for he perceived that the dominant spirit was too strongly inclined to the doctrine of transubstantiation to leave any room for hoping that any good could be effected by publicly opposing it. He was convinced that such open opposition would only serve to procure for the doctrine of transubstantiation a more speedy and certain victory. Perhaps for this reason he deemed it best to fall back, for the present, on the words of the institution, as a check against any further determinations; but assuredly there is no good reason for supposing that the bishop did not express, in this letter, the entire conviction of his heart; at least, in what he said about the authority of the older church-teachers in settling contested questions of doctrine, he did not shun the open expression of his sentiments, notwithstanding that his language might give offence to many of the more bigoted clergy. In all probability his general conviction was, that nothing more could be certainly deter-

* Ne si patrum sensa aut aliquo eventu depravata aut a nobis non bene intellecta aut non plene inquisita inconvenienter protulerimus, scandalum illud, quod tantopere fugimus, incurramus.

mined in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper than that the true body of Christ was there present, and that in this belief there was enough to satisfy the religious need. In seeking to define precisely the *how*, and to obtain currency for subjective views, which still could not be certainly demonstrated, the Christian fellowship, grounded on an agreement in essentials, ought not to be disturbed. And when Eusebius Bruno expresses himself thus universally respecting the right use of the older church-fathers, we may conclude that he was desirous of preserving the gospel simplicity, the sober practical bent in the doctrines of faith, and that he was by no means inclined to the scholasticism which was now bursting from the bud.

But Berengar's zeal was not to be restrained within the limits which the discreet prudence of his bishop would prescribe, and he must therefore himself contribute, by this strong reaction against the still mightier tendency of the spirit of his times, to hasten its triumph. In the mean time his friend cardinal Hildebrand had become pope. Perhaps he attempted, in the first place, by his legate Gerald, to have the controversy settled at a council held within the limits of France, at Poitiers, in the beginning of the year 1076; for it may be presumed, from what Eusebius Bruno says in the above-cited letter, with regard to Gerald's mode of thinking, that he would aim to bring about a compromise after the same manner as had been done at the council of Tours; but such was the excitement of the zealots against Berengar at this council, that he came near falling a victim to it.* Gregory VII., having failed to settle the controversy in this way, deemed it necessary to cite Berengar himself to Rome.†

* *Ferme interemptus*, in the *Chronicon Maxentii* or *Molleacense*. Labbe *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, T. II. fol. 212.

† We have, it is true, a detailed report of these remarkable transactions only from Berengar himself, published by Martene and Durand, in the *Nov. thesaur. anecdot.* T. IV. f. 103, and we might therefore question the credibility of a witness in his own cause. But we never find him distorting the facts to his own advantage; the statement, if we take it in connection with the times, contains no evidence of internal improbability, and the traits of Gregory VII., therein depicted, fully harmonize with his character. We shall also find in the charges which were afloat against Gregory VII., and in the tirade of cardinal Benno against him, a great deal which serves to corroborate Berengar's statements. But nowhere does he appear to be contradicted by other credible accounts. Chifflet's "*Anonymus*" merely notices what *was* of the greatest moment

In the year 1078 then, Berengar, in obedience to the pope's citation, came to Rome. Beyond doubt it was Gregory's intention to secure him repose in the same manner as had been done at the council of Tours. At an assembly on All Saints'-day, he induced him to lay down a confession of faith similar to the former ; and this he declared to be satisfactory—enough for the weak and for the strong. To the authority of Lanfranc he opposed that of Damiani. He directed the works of many of the older church-teachers to be brought forward, and their declarations respecting the Lord's Supper to be laid before the clergy, in order to convince them that if a person confessed bread and wine were, after the consecration, the true body and the true blood of Christ, this was enough. But the party of the zealots was not to be satisfied with any such confession ; they required of Berengar some other proof of his sincere orthodoxy, and for the present they sought occasions for delay, hoping for an opportunity to effect their designs under more favourable circumstances. A regard to his own interest would make Gregory VII. extremely cautious about doing anything in this matter which might turn the public tone of feeling against himself, and excite the suspicion that he was inclined to favour the erroneous doctrine, for this would have proved a serious obstacle to the prosecution of his most important plan ; indeed this charge was actually lodged against him by the party in opposition. To accomplish his object, without requiring Berengar to do anything contrary to his convictions, he tried various expedients. By all these attempts, however, the clamour of

to him—the general council in the facts which he himself attended ; and he had knowledge only of the public transactions, not of what had before taken place betwixt Gregory and Berengar. He says: *Ultimæ quoque generali synodo sub Gregorio papa 1078, nos ipsi interfuimus, et vidimus, quando Berengarius in media synodo constitit et hæresin de corpore Domini coram omnibus propriæ manus sacramento abdicavit.* But the report in the Chronicon of Hugo de Flavigny directly confirms Berengar's statement ; for it is clear from this, that at the last synod there was still a small party in his favour, and it was not till the third day of the meeting that the party of the zealots for the doctrine of transubstantiation obtained the victory. *Quidam, says the Chronicon, cæcitate nimia perculti, figuram tantum adstruebant rerum ubi res cœpit agi, priusquam tertia die ventum foret in synodum, defecit contra veritatem niti.* Bibl. Ms. T. I. Pars altera, f. 214 et 215.

those who insisted on Berengar's public profession of the doctrine of transubstantiation and condemnation of the opposite doctrine could not be appeased ; the only way left for Gregory to conciliate the zealots was to yield to their demands. Berengar was required publicly to take oath that he so thought as he professed in that confession, and then to prove his veracity by the ordeal of the hot iron. Already he was preparing himself, by prayer and fasting, for this trial, when the pope informed him, through his confidential agent, the abbot of Monte Cassino, that the trial should not be undergone. The pope then proposed to a monk whom he held in the highest esteem, that, by rigorous fasting, he should prepare himself to supplicate the grace of the Virgin Mary, whom he consulted on all dubious and weighty matters, that the true way in which the contested point ought to be considered might be revealed.* Afterwards he informed Berengar that this monk had received as an answer that nothing more ought to be adopted in relation to this doctrine than what was found written in Holy Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was in accordance with Scripture in holding it sufficient to say that the bread, after consecration, was the true body of Christ. There are two ways of interpreting this transaction : either we must suppose that Gregory ventured upon a *pious fraud* to pacify the multitude ; or that he really believed such a supernatural decision had been given—which last would not be inconsistent with his whole mode of thinking. Once, however, Berengar was thrown into the utmost alarm by the intelligence that it was the pope's intention to give him up to imprisonment for life, for the purpose of removing all suspicion from himself, and putting an end to the whole dispute.

The opposite party contrived, in the mean time, to have Berengar detained in Rome till the meeting of the synod usually held there in Lent. At this synod they hoped to accom-

* This statement of Berengar is corroborated by what Benno says, in his Pasquill against Gregory VII. : *Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane ecclesia an Berengarius* ; and then he states, that the pope directed two cardinals in particular to ask a sign from God. This agreement between two men, one an opponent and the other a friend of the pope, would of itself lead us to conclude, that the above statements are founded in truth.

plish their designs more easily by union with those of similar sentiments from other countries. And here the thing was actually accomplished which they were expecting and aiming to bring about. After a short contest the doctrine of transubstantiation obtained a complete victory. The confession previously laid down by Berengar was again placed before him, but with one slight alteration, designed for the purpose of precluding false interpretations. Instead of *converti*, was written *substantialiter converti*, with the antithesis: *non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturæ et veritate substantiæ*. As he carefully read through the confession of faith, a sophistical interpretation suggested itself, whereby he might explain it in consistency with his own views. The word *substantialiter* he interpreted as meaning *salva sua substantia*; and so he declared himself ready to adopt the symbol thus altered, with liberty to interpret it after his own manner. But some of his opponents having remarked that he was seeking evasions, the council required him to swear that he understood this confession *as they understood it*, and not so as to favour his own opinion. To this Berengar replied, for as he says in his own account of the transaction, "the compassion of the Almighty stood by me, so that I could reply—that with *their* understanding he had nothing to do; he stood to that which a few days before he had declared to the pope."* This appeal of Berengar to a conversation he had had with the pope would not be likely to strike the latter very agreeably. To turn away all suspicion from himself, the pope yielded to the zealots. He ordered that Berengar should prostrate himself on the ground and confess that he had hitherto been in error in that he had not taught a change as to substance. Berengar relates the sequel as follows:—"Confounded by the sudden madness of the pope, and because God in punishment for my sins did not give me a steadfast heart, I threw myself on the ground, and confessed with impious voice that I had erred, fearing the pope would instantly pronounce against me the sentence of condemnation, and, as a necessary consequence, that the populace would hurry me to the worst of deaths. Said I within myself—all who wish to slay thee boast in the name of Christians. It will be thought by all

* *Hic mihi omnipotentis misericordia non defuit.*

men, that, in destroying thee, they have done God service. It is easier for thee to take refuge in the divine compassion. Only deliver thyself from violence and out of the hands of mistaken men."

Upon this the pope commanded that he should never, for the future, presume to dispute with any one, nor to teach any one concerning the body and blood of the Lord, unless with a view to reclaim the erring to the faith. After having detained him some time longer in Rome, the pope dismissed him with two letters, one recommending him to the protection of the bishops of Tours and Angers, and a second addressed to all the faithful, pronouncing the anathema on all who should presume to molest Berengar, a son of the Roman church, either in his person or his estate, or to style him a heretic.

The report of his trial at Rome, which he drew up after his return, proves that he had not altered his opinions, as in fact we might presume he would not from all that goes before. That which occasioned him the deepest mortification, was his denial, under the fear of death, of what he knew to be the truth. This he called a *sacrilegium*. He concludes his report by expressing his feelings in the following words: "God of all might, Thou, who revealest thy almighty power especially by forgiveness and compassion, have mercy on him who acknowledges himself guilty of so great an impiety; and you also, Christian brethren, into whose hands this writing may come, prove your Christian charity; lend your sympathy to the tears of my confession; pray for me that these tears may procure me the pity of the Almighty." At length, sensible that he could effect nothing against the irresistible spirit of the times, he retired to a solitary life in the island of St. Cosmas, near Tours, where he reached a good old age, for he lived to the year 1088. In after times, the change made by Berengar in his mode of life was regarded as a proof that he abandoned his erroneous doctrine, and did penance for it; but we may far more naturally refer his penitence to that which, according to the confessions just quoted, never ceased to be the object of his most painful recollections.

It now remains for us to give a more full and distinct explanation of the doctrine of Berengar. He contended no

only against transubstantiation, but against every notion of a *bodily* presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, drawing his arguments from reason, from the testimonies of Scripture, and from the older church teachers. Considered from his own point of view, the intellectual apprehension of a clear understanding, such a notion appears to him altogether absurd, worthy only of the ignorant populace. Paschasius Radbert and the populace he always conjoins.* With intense indignation he noticed those legends of Paschasius Radbert about the sensible appearances of Christ after the consecration of the eucharist, which were immediately veiled again under the forms of the bread and wine.† The words of the institution would involve a falsehood—Christ, who is the truth, would contradict himself if the bread and wine, which he presupposes to be present, were no longer there.‡ He constantly maintained that the confessions which he had been forced to lay down testified for him rather than against him; for to predicate anything of bread and wine presupposed the present existence of these sensible objects.§ Subject and predicate must both alike be true, in order to the truth of the general proposition which they express. Now when it is predicated of one thing, that it is something else, there would be a contradiction in terms if predicate and subject must both be understood alike in the proper and literal sense. In such cases, we should rather understand the subject in the proper, the predicate in a figurative sense. He cites in illustration such expressions as those where Christ is called a rock, a

* *Vulgus et Paschasius, ineptus ille monachus Corbiensis, vulgus et cum vulgo insanientes Paschasius, Lanfrancus et quicunque alii. Ep. Adelmannum, p. 38 et 39. ed. Schmid.*

† He remarks of one of these statements about an apparition of this kind which appeared to a priest by the name of Peswil (see Paschasius Radbert de corpore et sanguine Domini, c. 14, p. 1595): *Fabula omni catholico audito ipso indignissima.* See the book *De sacra cœna*, p. 37.

‡ *Constabit etiam eum, qui ita opinetur, Christum, qui veritas est, falsitatis arguere, dum simulat, panem et vinum post consecrationem esse in altari, cum non sit in eo, nisi ipsius sensualiter corpus.* l. c. p. 299.

§ In his last statement of the transactions in Rome: *Quicunque enunciat affirmationem hanc: panis et vinum post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis, necessario mentitur, si affirmationi huic auferat vel subjectos terminos, qui sunt panis et vinum post consecrationem, vel prædicatos, qui sunt corpus Christi et sanguis.* Martene et Durand. T. IV. fol. 107.

lamb, a corner-stone.* The saying, that notwithstanding the annihilation of the substance, the sensible marks of the bread and wine might still remain,† he pronounces absurd,—an assertion destroying the very conception of nature, of the creation of God, by introducing into it an absolute contradiction.‡ Paschasius Radbert, as we have stated before, had said, that the only reason why the body of Christ is not communicated in a form perceptible to the senses was, that the senses might not be shocked at the sight of the body and blood of Christ. In reply to this Berengar observes, the “horror” remained the same, whether the flesh and blood appeared to the senses or not; for in man’s spirit, from which all the feelings flow, is the very seat of this “horror;” and the thought of eating a human body was the very thing most directly calculated to excite this “feeling.”§ Christ’s body is at present glorified in heaven; it can no longer be subjected to the affections of sense; it can therefore neither wholly nor in part be produced anew, nor be properly communicated. It were an unworthy trifling, could we suppose it true, to think that when the Lord’s Supper is a million times distributed, Christ’s body descends a million times from heaven, and returns back as often. A favourite maxim of Berengar often cited by him, was the passage from St. Paul:

* The Canon: *Ut, ubicunque prædicatur non prædicabile, quia tropica locutio est, de non susceptibili, alter propositionis terminis tropice, alter proprie accipiat. Verbi gratia: petra Christus erat, inquit apostolus, constatque subjectum terminum, qui est petra illa, quæ in deserto manavit aquas, susceptibilem ejus prædicati, quod est Christus, usquequaque non esse ac per hoc apostolicam illam propositionem subjectum terminum, quod est petra propria locutione, prædicatum, quod est Christus, tropica locutione habere.* De sacra cœna, p. 83.

† Ea, quæ sunt in subjecto, as it was expressed at a later period, the accidentia.

‡ Expressed in his own spirited style as follows: *Secundum evangelicum illud: quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet, convenientissime possit inferri: quæ Deus in ipsa eorum constitutione inseparabilia, quantum ad sensum corporis esse instituit, Lanfranci vecordia separare non debuit.* De sacra cœna, p. 190.

§ *Horreres autem non secundum quod desipit Lanfrancus atque Paschasius, quantum ad solum contuitum oculorum sed quantum etiam ad quemcunque sensum corporeum, et maxime et primo quantum ad interioris hominis decus, ad intellectualitatis contuitum, ubi primum locum habet omnis appetitus vel horror et maximum.* Berengar. de sacra cœna, p. 222.

"Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more," 2 Cor. v. 16. He dwells upon the words in the Acts of the Apostles, that Christ glorified was received up into heaven until the times of the restitution of all things, Acts iii. 21.* Yet Berengar believed it might be said, in a certain, that is as he himself explains, a figurative sense, that bread and wine are the body of Christ; here agreeing with Ratramnus, but with this difference. He did not understand it in the sense that the divine Logos communicated himself through bread and wine, and that the latter in so far became identical with, and took the place of, the body of Christ as the bearer of the manifestation of the Logos in humanity; but according to his view it should be understood thus—that the faithful, by means of this external sign, instituted by Christ for the very purpose, were therein to be reminded, in a lively way, of the fact that Christ had given his life for their salvation, and that they, by a believing appropriation of these sufferings of Christ which brought salvation, were, through the operation of the divine Spirit brought into a *true* supernatural communion with him, and had as lively a conviction of his presence among them as if he were bodily present. To this spiritual appropriation of the sufferings of Christ in believing remembrance, Berengar referred the passages in the sixth chapter of John.† He held that those passages contained no reference whatever to the Lord's Supper, and appealed to the fact that, in common life, eating and drinking were often employed figuratively to express an intellectual appropriation; and that this was espe-

* *Christum autem secundum carnem novit, qui eum secundum corpus etiam nunc corruptioni vel generationi obnoxium constituit.* p. 94. Omitto, quod ipsi sit refutandum rationi humanæ, quod indignissimum Deo esse facillimum sit cuiuspiam pervidere, quicumque sibi confingit, totum Christi corpus sensualiter adesse, quando celebretur mensa dominica, in altari, indissimulabiliter tali figmento suo millies millies in cælum revocat quotidie, corpus Christi ludibrio millies millies quotidie, quamdiu voluntur tempora obnoxium facit corpus Christi, quod constat innegabiliter, quamdiu voluntur tempora, sessurum esse ad dexteram patris. p. 198.

† Ubi dicit Dominus: nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, figurata ergo locutio est præcipiens, passioni Domini esse communicandum et suaviter recondendum in memoria, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa et vulnerata sit. p. 165.

cially the case in the New Testament, as he shows by apposite examples.* Christ does not descend *from* heaven, but the hearts of the faithful ascend devotionally to him *in* heaven.† The body of Christ is received wholly by the inner man—by the heart, not by the mouth of the faithful.‡ The true body of Christ is presented on the altar, but in a spiritual manner, for the inner man. The true, the imperishable body of Christ is eaten only by the true members of Christ, in a spiritual manner. The pious receive at one and the same time, in a visible manner, the external sign (the sacrament), and in an invisible manner the reality which is represented by the sign (the *res sacramenti*); but by the godless the sign only is received.§

But inasmuch as Berengar did not consider the external signs in the Lord's Supper as being merely an accidental medium for their communion with Christ, to be received through faith, but as the very medium for this communion instituted by Christ himself; inasmuch as he transferred the divine effect thus produced in the believing heart to the external sign itself from which this effect proceeded, so he could adopt in his own sense the expression *conversio*, as applied to the bread and wine. He could say, a change does in fact take place in the bread and wine. These things to the believing heart become really of a higher nature. They produce an effect there which they could not have produced

* Quasi non sit assolens in communi sermone, assolentissimum in scripturis, audiri incorporalem animæ comestionem atque bibitionem, unde Christus ipse: qui manducat me, etiam vivit propter me. Certum est autem, quando hæc dicebat, nihil eum de sacramentis altaris constituisse, et illud: ego cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis, ubi refectionem suam sine dubio conversionem Samaritanæ et populi ejus accipi voluit cibi nomine, quæ profecto corde manducatur, non dente. p. 236.

† Ut nullus fidelium cogitare debeat se ad refectionem animæ suæ accipere, nisi totam et integram domini Dei sui carnem, non autem cælo devocatam, sed in cælo manentem, quod ore corporis fieri ratio nulla permittit, cordis ad videndum Deum mundati devotione spatiosissima nulla indignitate nullis fieri prohibetur angustiis, ad quod, i. e. cordis devotionem, ad cordis contuitum necessario te trahit. p. 157.

‡ L. c. p. 148.

§ Verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter, interiori homini. Verum in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt spiritualiter manducari.—Utrumque a piis visibiliter sacramentum, rem sacramenti invisibiliter accipi, ab impiis autem tantum sacramenta. Letter to Adelman, c. 37 and 38.

by their natural properties. To the faithful, they are in truth the body of Christ, representing as they do to faith, to devotional feeling, this body in a powerful manner. The substance of the bread and wine is not indeed destroyed—this would have been not a *conversio* but an *eversio*; but this substance itself becomes the conveyer of higher powers and influences. Thus the substance proceeding from the original creation, the good thing of nature, remains; but it is by grace transfigured to a still higher dignity and power.* The natural bread can do nothing towards communicating eternal life; but that relation to the religious consciousness which is communicated to it by means of the consecration renders it capable of affecting the life eternal.† In the Lord's Supper, it is of far less moment what the external things are in their natural qualities than what they are as sanctified by the institution of Christ, and what they are as sanctified by the consecration.‡ Availing himself of the equivocal sense attached to the Latin word *conversio*, he introduced other significations of the term which did not belong to this case.§ But the kind of "conversion" to be understood here was more exactly designated by the term sacrament, by the word *consecrare*, which was here employed. A sanctification accordingly was supposed to take place here by the act of setting apart and referring an object of common life to a religious use, and the raising of it through this sanctification, this consecration, to a higher significance and dignity, its existing nature not being destroyed, but used as a support for something higher than

* *Panis consecratus amisit vilitatem, amisit inefficaciam, non amisit naturæ proprietatem, cui naturæ, quasi loco, quasi fundamento dignitas divinitus augeretur et efficacia.* De sacra cœna, p. 99.

† Inefficax erat panis natura ante consecrationem ad vitam æternam, post consecrationem efficax, quia sicut ad æternitatem amissam in Adam nemo proficeret, nisi verbum caro fieret, ita nemo Christianus ad immortalitatem redit, si per contemtum profanat sacramenta altaris. He purposely avoids so representing it as if a participation in the outward elements was absolutely necessary to the attainment of everlasting life. p. 145.

‡ *Panis iste consecratione suscepta non est æstimandus, quantum ad sacrificium Christi, secundum quod est panis, quod eum natura formavit, sed secundum quod eum benedictio corpus Christi esse constituit. Secundum quod majus in eo est, dico te corpus Christi ab altari accipere.* p. 179.

§ As, for example, the sense of *converti ad aliquem*, *conversio* = a change in which the present nature of the thing is not destroyed, but raised to a higher dignity and character. p. 144.

itself. Hence, he said, it had happened in process of time, owing to the peculiar nature of religious language, that to the objects thus sanctified by their appropriation to a religious use, was transferred the name of that which they represented to the religious consciousness, simply because for the religious consciousness they possessed *this* meaning and no other whatever.* Thus, for example, to Gerald, who has been made a bishop by consecration, but lives a life unworthy of his sacred calling, we would say, "Remember, thou art no longer Gerald, but the bishop."† In this view of the matter he maintained, that the objection of his opponents who accused him of representing the Lord's Supper as nothing more than a sacrament, involved a contradiction; for a *sacramentum* has no existence, except in reference to a *res sacramenti*.‡

This view of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was unquestionably based on a view of the sacraments generally, directly opposed to the prevailing bent of mind in the church of this period, a view which, had the distinction been a little more clearly drawn between the outward sign and the inward thing, must have eventuated in a more decided opposition to the superstitious notion respecting the magical effects of the sacraments. That it was so appears particularly from the following remarks of Berengar on the Lord's Supper and on baptism: "Our Lord Christ requires of thee no more than this. Thou believest that out of his great compassion for the human race he poured out his blood for them; and that thou, by virtue of this faith, wilt be cleansed by his blood from all sin. He requires of thee, that, constantly mindful of this blood of Christ, thou shouldest use it to sustain the life of thy inner man in this earthly pilgrimage, as thou sustainest the life of thy outward man by sensible meat and drink.§ He

* Omne, quod sacrat, necessario in melius provehi, minime absumi per corruptionem subjecti. Berengar. de s. c. p. 116. Vini autem verbi, quod est sacrare, ad religionem pertinere, notum est omnibus, et noto dicendi genere res in religione consecrata non solum res consecrata vel sacrosancta, sed dicitur etiam ipsa sacratio vel sacramentum. Sicut egregius aliquis non solum justus, sed etiam ipsa justitia contraque impius non solum carnalis vel terrenus, sed caro et terra nominatur. In the letter to Adelmann. p. 42. † P. 178.

‡ Constat enim, si fit sacramentum, nulla posse non esse ratione rem quoque sacramenti, p. 114.

§ Exigit a te Christus Dominus, ut credas, misericordissima ergo

also requires of thee, that in the faith that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son as a propitiation for our sins, thou shouldest submit to outward baptism, to represent how thou oughtest to follow Christ in his death and in his resurrection. The bodily eating and drinking of bread and wine," says he, "should remind thee of the spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, that whilst thou art refreshed in the inner man, by the contemplation of his incarnation and of his passion, thou mayest follow him in humility and patience."*

His profound conviction of the importance of pointing men away from the externals of the sacraments to the essence of the inward Christian life, is emphatically expressed in the following remarks:—"The sacrament is, indeed, a perishing and transitory thing; but the power and grace that operate through it constitute the very channels of eternal life to the soul. Partaking of the sacrament is common to many, but the communion of love is confined to a few. He who sincerely loves the Lord, comes to the sacrament in the right way. The new commandment is love. The new testament is the promise of the kingdom of heaven; the pledge of that inheritance is the communion."†

With the doctrine of the sacraments stands closely connected the doctrine concerning the church; and we have already remarked that Berengar, by his whole dogmatical tendency, was led to the idea of an invisible church proceeding from the common spiritual appropriation of divine truth. So also he left the beaten track, in allowing freer scope to rational investigation, independent of the authority of church tradition. When Lanfranc accused him of slighting ecclesiastical authorities, he repelled the charge, but at the same

humanum genus affectione esse factum, quod sanguinem fudit et ita credendo sanguine[m] ejus ab omni peccato laveris, exigit, ut ipsum eundem Christi sanguinem semper in memoria habens, in eo, quasi in viatico ad conficiendum vitæ hujus iter, interioris tui vitam constituas, sicut exterioris tui vitam in exterioribus constituis cibis et potibus.

* Dum te reficis in interiore tuo incarnatione verbi et passione, ut secundum humilitatem, per quam verbum caro factum est, et secundum patientiam, per quam sanguinem fudit, interioris tui vitam instituas, quanta debes humilitate quanta debes, emineas patientia. p. 222 et 223.

† See the letter ad Ricardum in D'Achery, Spicileg. T. III. f. 400.

time remarked, that beyond a doubt it was "an incomparably higher thing to exercise reason than to employ authority in the search after truth."* When Lanfranc reproached him with flying to dialectics, he replied, "I do not regret having employed dialectics for the clear exposition of the truth; even Christ, the wisdom and the power of God, did by no means despise it; for we find him using it for the refutation of his adversaries."† To show this he cites Matt. xii. 27, and xxii. 46. "To fly to logic, is the same as to fly to reason; and he who placed no confidence in that gift, whereby man was created in the image of God, renounced his own dignity, as well as the power of being renewed in the image of God from day to day."‡

Berengar, as we have said, disputed the truth of those wonderful stories which were supposed to confirm the doctrine of transubstantiation. For this reason he was accused by his adversaries of entertaining an aversion to miracles generally. Thus one of his opponents, archbishop Guitmund, of Aversa,§ remarks,—“He who denies miracles, is an enemy to the church; for as the church was founded on miracles, and is built up by the same means, so miracles belong to the very preservation of its existence.|| He therefore who denies the miracles of the church, destroys, so far as in him lies, the very conception of the church. And what greater folly can there be than to deny miracles, when one is surrounded by them on

* *Ratione agere in perceptione veritatis, incomparabiliter superius esse, quia in evidenti res est, sine recordiæ cœcitate nullus negaverit.* Berengar. de s. c. p. 100. Unde ipse Dominus, adhuc modicum, inquit, in vobis lumen est, ambulate, John xii. 35—(Since it can hardly be conceived, however, that Berengar should have understood by "the light," in this, perhaps imperfectly preserved passage, nothing else than reason, we may probably state the train of thought in his mind as follows. Christ designates himself as the light for reason; he calls upon men so to use their reason as to receive him into themselves as its light.)—et apostolus, non potui, inquit, loqui vobis quasi spiritualibus. Com. in the letter to Adelman, pages 44 and 45.

† *Suos inimicos arte revincere.*

‡ *Ad rationem est confugere, quo qui non confugit, cum secundum rationem sit factus ad imaginem Dei, suum honorem reliquit.*

§ *De veritate Eucharistiæ, lib. III. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. fol. 459.*

|| He applies here the well known words of Sallust: *Imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.*

every side; when one's own existence is itself a miracle?"* The writings from which such miraculous stories were derived, Berengar declared to be apocryphal. This was the occasion of one of the most grievous charges against his whole school. The writings, it was said, which edified entire Christendom, some† few presumed to reject, merely because *they* were not pleased with them.‡ It deserves notice,§ that Berengar and his school were also accused of denying the veracity of the gospel narratives. It was said, that according to him it ought not to be believed that Christ entered the room where his disciples were assembled, while the doors were shut. This charge was no doubt founded in part upon certain erroneous conclusions from statements wrongly understood; but at the same time it may have had some foundation of truth. When Berengar said the body of Christ, as such, could not be present in several places at one and the same time, perhaps it was replied, that as the body of Christ had entered a room where the doors were shut, in contradiction to the common notions respecting the nature of body, so it might be present at one and the same time in several places, being in fact superior to all limitations of space. Now in meeting this argument, we cannot suppose Berengar would say, as he did in replying to the argument from those legends, that the gospel narrative was incredible; but he might take the liberty of interpreting the account in a *different way* from his opponents, and so as to make it unnecessary to suppose that Christ actually passed through the doors when they were shut.

While Berengar founded an important school, which adopted his own views of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,|| he at the same time communicated an impulse to another

* Hoc ipsum etiam omnino quod sunt, nonnisi ex divino miraculo est.

† Pauculi minus docti et animales, says Guitmund.

‡ Probably an allusion to the zealous study of the ancient authors: Qui paganorum libenter historias amplectuntur, Christianas historias, quas totius amplectitur mundus, cassare laborant.

§ Vid. Guitmund, f. 460.

|| That Berengar had many followers, according to his own declarations and those of his opponents, quoted on a former page, is by no means contradicted by the fact, that he is also reproached with having but a small number of followers on the doctrine of the eucharist; for this is to be understood relatively; the number was small, in comparison with the great body of the Christian church.

party, opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which party perhaps continued to act independently of his own peculiar school. Thus, while these two parties agreed in their opposition to transubstantiation, they might still be kept apart by other differences in their views of the eucharist. Nor can there be any doubt that, as has already been remarked, an opposition, dating back to some remoter period, had been handed down from age to age against the doctrine taught by Paschasius Radbert; yet it was no more than natural that all the opponents of this doctrine, however independent they might be of Berengar, should still be named after him, as their head, and thrown into one and the same class, as Berengarians. There were many who denied the transformation of the bread, but supposed that the body of Christ became united with the unaltered substance of the bread; * others who were offended only by the assertion of Paschasius Radbert, that the same body of Christ was in the eucharist, which had been born, had suffered, and risen again.† Others, it is reported, found nothing else to object to but the assertion, that even the unworthy communicants received the body of Christ; and these were of the opinion that such communicants received only the bread and wine.‡ Indeed, from different forms of expression, men may have framed to themselves different notions, not understanding them precisely in the sense of the persons who employed them. Thus we find Berengar himself accused of altering his views, where doubtless there was really nothing more than a change of expression, with the same essential views lying at bottom.§

* As Guitmund states it, l. III. de eucharistiæ sacramento. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 461. The impanatio Christi is a similar representation, as we remarked already in the second period.

† Nonnulli aliquanto, ut sibi videntur, prudentiores atque religiosiores, qui carnem quidem dicant esse Christi—sed quandam novam quam benedictio recens creavit. Durand. f. 424.

‡ Guitmund l. III. f. 464.

§ See Guitmund l. III. f. 463, that he taught many nihil in cibo altaris nisi umbram tantum et figuram haberi; to others, who pressed him more closely, he said ipsum ibi corpus Christi esse, sed impanatum latere; but in Berengar's connection of thought, the figura presupposed the *res sacramenti*, to which it referred, the *reality* of Christ's body. The notion of an impanatio, as we may gather from the preceding remarks, was altogether foreign from Berengar's mind; and the charging him with such a notion certainly proceeded from a false interpretation of his language. He said that the consecrated bread was the true body

As to the rest, it was impossible for Berengar, at the position which he maintained, and with his own more spiritual mode of apprehension, to enter into the whole connection of thought in the theory of his opponents, or to recognize in the doctrine of transubstantiation, which to him appeared altogether anti-christian, that strong interest of Christian feeling, and of the Christian habit of intuition, which lay at the foundation of it. Yet, to the defenders of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the very thing which invested this doctrine with so much importance was that connection of ideas in which it presented itself to their Christian consciousness. If the Lord's Supper, said they, contains nothing but types and shadows, then Christ is not truly with his church; no real union exists betwixt him and believers. To them, however, it seemed that *one* of two things must be true. Either the substance of the bread and wine remains; then these latter are the reality, and only types and shadows of Christ's body: or the body of Christ alone is the real, present substance; and under bread and wine we have only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, though it appears otherwise to sensuous perception. In the case of those within whose minds this doctrine had developed itself out of the depth of their own Christian feelings, the Christian element, seized on the side of feeling and intuition, was really so predominant as to have a reflective influence on the perceptions of the bodily sense, and thus the natural itself became to them a different thing. To their transcendent feelings the body of Christ was the sole reality, and the substance of the bread the same as if it were not present. Everything was transfigured into the heavenly; nothing earthly remained. Hence it was needless to ask what had become of the earthly elements of the Lord's Supper? the whole had passed up into the form of the spiritual.* Nor is it

of Christ, and yet controverted the doctrine of transubstantiation: hence it was inferred, that he could only mean an impanatio. If such a misconception existed on this point, then we may conclude that a great deal which was said respecting the several opinions of the Berengarians is liable to suspicion.

* From this point of view, we should contemplate the controversy also which had gone on since the time of Paschasius Radbert, about the question whether what Christ says, Matt. xv. 17, could be applied to that which is received in the eucharist, which might seem to lead to offensive conclusions. But here it was necessary to exclude all

difficult to see, how from the same essential contents within the Christian consciousness arose, in accordance with the different forms and grades of culture, the different modes of apprehension which were peculiar to Berengar and to his opponents. Both agreed in believing that in the Lord's Supper the essential thing upon which all depended was the cordial reception of Christ; and again, that it is the eye of faith alone which here beholds Christ. But to the cautious, reflecting Berengar, who recognized the rights of the understanding no less than those of the feelings, it must seem absolutely needful to separate and carefully distinguish the divine element apprehended by faith from the natural elements perceived by the senses. His opponents, on the other hand, in whom this discriminating faculty of understanding was repressed, or wholly overpowered, by the transcendent element of feeling, could never bring themselves to allow of any such distinction. It could only appear to them as a cold abstraction, an evacuation of the whole mystery. Standing at this position, faith perceives *only the body of Christ, the substance of the bread is no longer there.** What practical importance came to be attached to the doctrine, regarded from this point of view, appears from the following words of the pious Guitmund.†

that was sensuous and earthly from the thoughts; everything should be viewed in the light of a loftier, spiritual intuition. Neque de cætero subire credenda est (caro Christi) cujuslibet injuriæ incommoditatem, sed potius in spiritualem refundi virtute divina operationem. Ut enim Deus et homo Jesus Christus impleta humanæ redemptionis dispensatione a morte ad vitam, ad incorruptionem excessit a corruptione, ita etiam hoc divinum ac cæleste sacramentum non immerito creditur a specie visibile in id repente transformari, quod solus ipse novit. Vere inter manus ministrorum ad invisibilem speciem cælesti commercio perducitur ejusdem sacramenti etiam visibilis forma, videlicet ut tantum fiat sacramentum, id est ex toto sanctitas ac vita animarum. Nec ut pravi quique audent delirando confingere, in digestionis corruptionem resolvitur, sed magis in mentibus utentium vitam salutemque efficaciter operatur. Durand. Troanens. de corp. et sang. D. f. 421.

* Crede, ut videas, says Durandus, f. 427, nam credere jam corde est videre.

† Guitmund, Lanfranc's disciple, had made himself generally esteemed for his piety and learning, while a monk in the monastery of St. Leufroy in Normandy. His sovereign, William duke of Normandy, afterwards king William the Conqueror of England, wished to transfer him, with many others, from Normandy to the new kingdom, and to bestow on him a bishopric in that country; but Guitmund informed

“What can be more salutary than such a faith? Purely receiving into itself the pure and simple Christ alone, in the consciousness of possessing so glorious a gift, it guards with the greater vigilance against sin; it glows with a more earnest longing after all righteousness; it strives every day to escape from the world, as the enemy of its Lord, and, reposing with fuller trust on promises which are secured by so great a pledge, it strives with more confidence and with more ardent aspirations after God, to embrace in unclouded vision the very fountain of life itself.”*

II. IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE Greek church enjoyed, it is true, one great advantage over that of the West, in possessing a culture transmitted from still older times, which had not as yet become utterly extinct. In the consciousness of this, the Greeks were accustomed to look down with supercilious contempt upon the Latin church, as one that subsisted among barbarians; but the Western church possessed an advantage far outweighing the dead matter of traditional learning, in the fresh and vigorous principle of a new spiritual creation, which, with inferior means, could bring about vastly greater effects. Of such a principle, which might have infused life into the inert

the king, in very bold language, that he could not obtrude himself as a bishop on a foreign people, whose language and customs he did not understand, by means of a person who had destroyed so many of their relatives and friends, and who had deprived them of their property or freedom. Goods obtained by robbery he could not receive, being a monk. He looked upon all England as an estate acquired by robbery; and he feared to touch any part of it. He warned the king, by pointing to the example of earlier and greater revolutions among the nations, and to the fate of earlier conquerors. He admonished him not to be dazzled by earthly success, but to be constantly mindful of death, and of the account he must render to the supreme Judge of all, for his administration of the government committed to his care. He recommended him and his family to the divine grace, and begged that he might be permitted to return back to Normandy. *Opimam Angliæ prædam amatoribus mundi quasi quisquilias derelinquo. Liberam paupertatem Christi amo.* At a later period he made a journey to Italy, where he was highly honoured by Gregory VII. and made a cardinal; afterwards, by pope Urban II. he was made archbishop of the Neapolitan town Aversa. *Vid. Oderici Vitalis historia ecclesiastica, l. V. c. 17.*

* Guitmund l. II. f. 464.

mass of its learning, the Greek church was destitute. Since the last half of the ninth century and under the patronage of the emperor Basilius Macedo and his successors, scientific studies among the Greeks had indeed gained a new impulse; but still the want of that animating principle could not thus be supplied. In all departments of Theology, the historical, the exegetical, the dogmatical, to collect and arrange the transmitted stores of the more living intellectual development of earlier times, without subjecting them to any original, self-active elaboration of thought, was therefore the predominant tendency. As a representative of theological learning among the Greeks in the last half of the ninth century, we may take Photius,—the celebrated author of that compilation of critical excerpts from the two hundred and eighty works which he had read, entitled the *Biliotheque*:—of his character, labours, and fortunes, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. His correspondence* evidences the wide range of his researches on theological subjects, and the high authority in which he stood as a man of learning among his contemporaries. He was resorted to alike by the laity and the clergy, for the resolution of all sorts of questions pertaining to theology and exegesis. The most distinguished exegetical author was Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, who flourished near the close of the tenth century, and wrote a celebrated Commentary on the New Testament.

There were two causes, strictly connected with each other, which especially contributed to hinder the healthful and free evolution of the church and of theology among the Greeks: the despotism of the civil government, before which everything crouched—the bishops themselves not seldom consenting to act as its humble instruments; and the extinction of the sense of truth, the spirit of insincerity, already a predominant trait which had stamped itself on the entire life of the people, and was continually appearing in the fulsome exaggerations of their ordinary language. Thus acuteness and learning could be employed, as weapons of sophistry, to uphold despotism and falsehood. Men could prove anything they wanted to prove. Knowledge without a soul, instead of pre-

* Published by Richard Montague (Montacutius), bishop of Norwich. London, 1651.

senting any check to the prevailing superstition, walked quietly by its side, or was even employed to support and defend it. But from the Christian consciousness itself there had already gone forth, in the preceding period, during the controversy about images, a reaction against one particular branch of superstition, which, if it could only have made some further progress, and more fully evolved the spiritual tendency of which it was the manifestation, would, doubtless, never have stopped with attacking this single superstition, but would have introduced a radical revolution into the whole state of the church and of theology. And a reaction of the same sort sprung up, for the second time, in the present period. But the two causes above mentioned still operated to prevent a favourable issue to *this* reaction; for superstition stood in alliance with the reigning spirit of insincerity, and despotism was not fitted to carry such a reaction successfully to its end; it would only convert into a lie the truth itself, which, contrary to every law of spiritual development, it would thrust upon men by force. Besides, such attacks on superstition, which were wholly negative in their aim, and directed only against a single branch of it, while the common root of all superstition, in the minds of the people and of the church, was left untouched, could not possibly succeed. A true reformation was impossible, until the true essence of Christian faith should be revived, bringing about a regeneration of the national mind, and by that very means the consequent expulsion of all the elements foreign to pure Christianity. Accordingly, the issue of the controversies about images in this period was such as might naturally be expected under the existing condition of the Greek church, and from the way in which these controversies were actually conducted. But even supposing this reaction could have been carried to its furthest extent, and the spiritual tendency from which it sprung could have been fully developed, it would still remain a question, whether, in the prevailing corruption of the times, this further progress in the way of negation would not have superinduced a spirit of scepticism still more than a spirit of faith.

We will now proceed to a nearer consideration of this reaction itself, in the history of the second controversy concerning images.

We remarked towards the close of the controversy about

images in the preceding period, that although image-worship in the Greek church had obtained the victory, and the opposite party had been crushed by the government, yet the principles of the iconoclasts had become too securely fixed in the minds of both ecclesiastics and laymen, to be dislodged at once by tyrannical dictation. There were, as it is reported in a document of these times, concealed iconoclasts, who, to avoid giving offence, complied externally with the forms of image-worship; and others who even ventured to express their convictions publicly, banishing all images from their churches, and having nothing in them but naked walls; who discarded every sensuous medium of worship, and were for simply elevating the thoughts to God in the prayer of the spirit.* The great neglect which from motives of policy was shown to the iconoclasts by the second Nicene council, served to promote the succeeding reactions of the party. For the truth was, that multitudes of the party had submitted in that council, to the dominant power, and consented to a recantation which they might alterwards excuse under the softer name of accommodation (*οικονομία*), merely for the sake of retaining their bishoprics; and these were only waiting for some favourable political change, to reavow publicly the principles they had never relinquished, and to labour more zealously than ever for their propagation.† The change so earnestly desired by this party took place, when Leo the Armenian, a man from the bosom of the army in which with the memory of iconoclast emperors had been transmitted an attachment to their religious principles, placed himself, in the year 813, on the imperial throne. It was already noticed with surprise, that when the patriarch Nicephorus invited him to give the church by a written confession of faith in accordance with

* See the Interview of the patriarch Nicephorus with the emperor Leo the Armenian in the Life of this patriarch, composed by the Deacon Ignatius, March 13th, s. 42, and in the Collection *originum rerumque Constantinopolitanarum manipulus*, published by Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1664, pag. 162.

† Important information with regard to the connection of these events is supplied by Nicetas, in his life of the patriarch Ignatius. When speaking of the proceedings of the second council of Nice, he says: *ἐπειδὴ συμπαθέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοτέρον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς αἵρετικοῖς καιροῦ πάλιν ἐκείνοι δρασζόμενοι τὴν οἰκίαν δυσσέβειαν χαλεπώτερον ἀνεκινώσαντο.* Harduin. T. V. f. 990.

the church orthodoxy, the customary pledge of security,* he put it off, doubtless not without a purpose, till after his coronation. The patriarch probably dared not, on account of this denial, to refuse the ceremony of coronation to an emperor, who already had the power in his hands; perhaps at the moment he suspected nothing. But when, three days afterwards, he again invited the crowned emperor to do the same thing, the latter contrived in some way or other wholly to evade it; for as in a confession embracing the whole orthodox faith, the confirmation of image-worship and the condemnation of the iconoclasts could not fail to be included, he would either have to give up his own convictions, and should he afterwards undertake to do anything against images, incur the charge of perjury and of a fraud practised upon the church, or he would be obliged to declare at once, at the very beginning of his reign, that he could not make the usual confession on the subject of images, thereby calling forth at once the controversy on this subject, which he had good reasons for avoiding. But the patriarch's suspicions, if not awakened by the first, would of course be aroused by this second denial of the emperor. The emperor, before he attempted to do anything for the suppression of images, wished to be still further confirmed in his own convictions, and to be provided with the means of rebutting the objections which might be urged by the defenders of their worship; he therefore consulted with a few ecclesiastics of his own persuasion, and in particular he directed one of them, John the Grammarian, to bring together a collection of declarations from the older church-fathers on the subject in question,—measures which of course would only serve to strengthen him in his own views. Once, while he was attending on divine service, the words were recited from Isaiah xl.: "To whom then will ye liken God," etc., upon which the iconoclasts about him seizing on the passage, endeavoured to persuade him that it was a voice from the Almighty, calling upon him to destroy the worship of idols. In

* That the patriarch should require such a confession of him, is not to be regarded as a mark of suspicion, since evidently this was one of the customary formalities observed by every new emperor on entering upon his government. This is clearly implied in the language of the historian Joseph Genesius, κατὰ τὸ ἑλκὸν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως. I. I. ed. Lachmann, pag. 26.

December therefore of the year 814 he began to make preparations for the accomplishment of his designs. He sought gradually to gain over the patriarch Nicephorus, a zealous defender of image-worship,* at least so far as that the first step against images might be taken without resistance on his part. Summoning him to his presence, he introduced the subject with cautious reserve, saying nothing about his own repugnance to images, but dwelling upon the disposition which prevailed among the people. "The people," said he, "take offence at image-worship; they look upon its prevalence as the cause of the public misfortunes, of the disastrous defeats we have suffered from infidel nations"—and so far as the army was concerned, he may have said the truth. He therefore begged the patriarch, considering that such was the disposition of the public mind, to give his consent that those images which were placed in inferior situations might be removed.† But when the patriarch, who had good reason to

* Nicephorus was descended from a family of most devoted image-worshippers. His father, one of the imperial secretaries under Constantine Copronymus, incurred the latter's displeasure when it was discovered that he kept images in his house and worshipped them. He was scourged, deposed, and banished for refusing to renounce image-worship. Nicephorus himself shared in the triumph of image-worship, as imperial commissary, at the second Nicene council. He next became a monk, and was elevated from the monastic life to the patriarchal dignity. See his life by his scholar, the deacon Ignatius, 13 March; in the Greek original, in the second volume, March, in the Appendix, f. 705.

† Τὰ χαμηλὰ περιελῶμεν. Possibly this may mean, as it seems to have been understood by many, "Let us do away with image-worship altogether, as a low, unworthy thing;" but we can hardly suppose the emperor would express himself so harshly concerning images, when it was his design to bring the subject before the patriarch in the gentlest manner, and to induce him to consent merely to an οἰκονομία. It is better to understand by χαμηλὰ simply the χαμηλαὶ εἰκόνες, so distinguished from the others. The moderate opponents of image-worship, whom Theodorus Studita wrongly accuses of inconsistency, were willing to let the images stand as historical representations, as means of bringing events vividly before the senses and memory (they said: ὅτι καλὸν ἡ ἱστορία, ἐξηγήσεως καὶ ἀναμνήσεως λόγον ἔχουσα), they were opposed only to the worship of these images; and to counteract this among the people, they insisted, that the images should be taken away from the low places (τοῖς χαμηλοῖς), should be everywhere removed from places where the multitude could touch them. See Theodore's Antirrheticus II. against the Iconoclasts, opp. f. 84.

fear that one step in yielding would soon lead to another, refused to listen to any proposition which required him to suit his conduct to the public tone of feeling, the emperor demanded of him an express warrant from Scripture in favour of images. Such a warrant, the patriarch of course could not produce; but he spoke of the authority of tradition, on the ground of which many other things had been adopted into church practice which were still held sacred by the emperor himself, though they were not found prescribed in the sacred Scriptures. As to the worship of images (the προσκύνησις before the images), he could appeal to the fact, that it was precisely the same with the homage paid to the cross and to the books of the gospels; * for as we have already observed, the iconoclasts were guilty of an inconsistency in paying adoration to the cross, concerning the magical powers of which they adopted the common notions.† With the principle of a religious mode of thinking opposed to the reigning spirit of the age, but a principle not as yet clearly evolved in their own minds, they united a form of Christian intuition which would not harmonize with that principle, but which they had caught up from the Christian life of their times. Hence the defender of image-worship had unquestionably the advantage of consistency in his contest with the emperor.

The emperor requested the patriarch to converse on the subject with those of the clergy who defended the opposite principles, and to consider how he would refute the arguments which they could produce. Nicephorus promised to send him

* See the statement in the continuation of Theophanes, fol. 347, ed. Venet.

† The opponent of images, whom Theodore no doubt represents as speaking in the spirit and after the customary manner of his party, requires that the cross in this controversy should be left entirely out of the question. Ὁ σταυρὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀήττητον τρόπαιον. Antirrhet. II. f. 88. "Through Christ," says he, "the cross is become sanctified." f. 92. The party appealed to all those passages of the New Testament which speak of the significance and power of the cross of Christ; and they were of the opinion, that no texts could be found where the like was said of the *image* of Christ. But to this Theodore replied, that these texts spoke not of the *sign* of the cross, but of that which was represented by this sign. If that which had been said of the thing itself was here transferred to its sign, so might that which is said of Christ be applied to his image. Antirrhet. I. f. 76.

well-instructed theologians, who would more fully explain to him the correct doctrine on this subject, and refute all the objections of its opponents. He selected for this purpose certain bishops and monks; but they met with as little success in their object as he had done himself, and they refused to enter into any conference with the heads of the iconoclasts. Meantime the fury of the soldiers, who were deadly opposed to images, broke out in open violence; whether it could no longer be restrained, or whether, according to the current report, they were set on by the emperor himself, it wreaked itself on that colossal image of Christ, standing before the emperor's palace, which Leo the Isaurian had removed, and which Irene had restored to its former position. This furnished a reason or a pretext to the emperor for removing the image once more, so as to secure it from the insults of the soldiers. The patriarch looked upon these occurrences as betokening the danger which now threatened the faith, and in the night he called together within his palace several bishops and abbots, to deliberate on what was to be done for averting the danger, and to invoke the divine assistance in behalf of the church. The emperor, on learning this, dreaded the consequences of such a combination. At day-break he sent for the patriarch, whom he accused of fomenting schism, and of sowing the seeds of insurrection, while the emperor himself was only studying how to preserve the peace. He requested him, as soon as possible, to make his appearance, and to give him a report of all that had been done. The patriarch obeyed, and the whole assembly went with him. He first had a private audience with the emperor, while the others waited before the gates of the palace.* The emperor received the patriarch with reproachful language for acting so contrary to his own salutary measures to promote pure doctrine and the peace of the church. He could appeal to his own knowledge that a party by no means small or insignificant had seceded from the church on account of these images, firmly believing they had on their side the au-

* The authorities followed in this account are, besides the continuation of Theophanes, already cited, the Life of the patriarch Nicephorus, also cited above, and the Life of the abbot Nicetas, by his scholar Theosterict; 3d April, in the I. tom. of the April—Appendix, f. 23. The Life of Theodore, abbot of the monastery Studium, at Constantinople, prefixed to his Works in Sirmond. opp. T. V.

city of Scripture.* For this reason it was their own duty to hear the arguments of this party and to refute them. He therefore demanded, once more, that a conference should be held between the bishops and theologians of the two parties.

Here arose a dispute betwixt the patriarch and the emperor on the employment of images in religion, and on their worship. Nicephorus resorted to the common arguments, and refuted the objection drawn from the forbidding of images in the Old Testament, after the current fashion of polemics among the image-worshippers, as we have explained it in our account of the image-controversies in the first section.† At the same time he declared that, though he could discourse with the emperor, he could hold no sort of intercourse with the clergy who had separated themselves from the church. He then begged that he might be allowed to introduce into the emperor's presence several witnesses of the principles he had expressed, and, being permitted, sent for the bishops and monks assembled before the gates of the palace. Many of them spoke with great freedom in favour of image-worship. Among the boldest was the man who then stood at the head

* Οὐκ οἶσθα, ὡς οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον μέρος διανοχλεῖ καὶ ἐκκλησίας δίσταται τῆς τῶν εἰκόνων ἕνεκεν γραφῆς τε καὶ στάσεως, ῥησιων γραφικῶν περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιχομιζόμενον διατάγματα. See the Life of Nicephorus, l. c. s. 40.

† Though this conversation between the emperor and the patriarch certainly did not correspond word for word to the form in which it is represented in the two reports cited on p. 265, yet we may suppose that something like this was said on both sides; we have the current form of the arguments used by the two parties. It deserves notice, that according to the statements of Nicephorus, in defending the worship of the images of the saints, the saints are distinguished from the great mass of Christians, insomuch that he depreciates the ordinary Christian life, representing the saints as those who alone answered to the idea of that life. He divides men, with reference to the service of God, into three classes: those who shun sin from fear of the divine punishment, *slaves*; those who are incited to strive after goodness by the hope of future blessings, *hirelings*; finally, those who do good not from the impulses of fear or of hope, but out of pure, free love, *the children of God*, the heirs of god and joint-heirs with Christ, whose intercessions with God are most prevailing, to whom, as to the satellites of a king, we apply for aid, begging them to lay before him the petitions, which we, in the consciousness of our sins, venture not to present in our own persons. Vid. Combeis manipulus, l. c. 171.

of monachism in the Greek church, Theodore, abbot of the famous monastery in Constantinople, called the Studion, after the name of its founder, Studius, a noble Roman.* This person had often shown before, under persecutions and sufferings, the inflexibility and steadfastness of his zeal in maintaining the sacred laws against the attacks of those who were possessed of the civil and ecclesiastical power, and had thus acquired a moral power which despotism itself was forced to respect.† He caused it to be felt in the present case. The check presented by the popes in the Western church against

* Theodore was educated first as a monk, in the monastery of Saccudion, under his uncle, the venerated Platon; then in 794 he was forced by the latter, who, on account of his advanced age, was no longer able to discharge the duties of the office, to take his place as abbot. In the year 798 he became abbot of the monastery of Studion, which had been destroyed under that enemy of the monks, Constantine Copronymus. Under him it rose once more to eminence.

† When the young emperor Constantine, son of Irene, repudiated his spouse, compelling her to enter a convent, and insisted on marrying a lady of the court, Theodota, kinswoman of Theodore; when an eminent ecclesiastic, Joseph Œconomus of the church at Constantinople, was prevailed on to bestow the Christian consecration on a connection formed in violation of the divine law; when Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, dared not say a word in opposition to this proceeding: it was the nonagenarian Platon, and his nephew Theodore, who spoke out in the name of the law, and laboured to preserve alive the consciousness of it in the hearts of the people, for already had the emperor's example, sanctioned by the concurrence of the church, found numerous imitators. Neither marks of honour nor the flatteries of the emperor and of his new consort, nor threats, could move Theodore to yield. He was scourged and exiled; but he continued steadfast, fired the monks and ecclesiastics to resistance, and called to his assistance the more independent voice of the pope. He renounced church-fellowship with the emperor, and with all those who approved of this adulterous connection, as he termed it. He inveighed with pious indignation against the pretences, that such a compliance with the emperor's wishes was but an *οἰκονομία*, that the divine laws were not to be enforced on monarchs as on others. He pronounced such assertions to be heresies, doctrines of antichrist, and zealously contended for the truth that there was but one gospel for all; monarchs, as well as subjects, must all in like manner bow before the laws of God, and no man had power to grant a dispensation from these. When, at a later period, the emperor Nicephorus forced the patriarch of that name to reinstate the Œconomus Joseph in his office, from which he had been deposed, Theodore stood forth against this measure, and involved himself in new persecutions. The letters of Theodore, referring to these contests, are to be found in the first book of these letters.

the arbitrary exercise of political power, sometimes in defence of the interests of religion and morality, would most often in the Greek church, where no bishop was to be found so independent of the civil government, proceed from monks, who, by the universal veneration which their austere life had procured for them, exercised a predominant influence over the people, and whose unconquerable disposition, quickened and animated by faith, opposed a firm bulwark of defence against the inroads of temporal power. Such a person was Theodore.

He ventured in this case to enter a protest against the very principle of Byzantine despotism. He told the emperor that it belonged to him to guide the affairs of state and of war, not the affairs of the church, for the administration of these church-offices had been divinely instituted. St. Paul, in Ephesians, iv., said that Christ had appointed apostles, prophets, and pastors, but not kings. Said the emperor, "Do not rulers, then, belong also to the church?" Instead of correcting this misapprehension, Theodore unfitly replied, "The emperor belongs to the church, if he does not wilfully exclude himself from it—if he does not company with heretics, on whom the anathema of the church has lighted." Upon this the emperor indignantly dismissed them. Still it was by no means his intention to stand forth as an avowed opponent of images. In the presence of these ecclesiastics he took out an image from his bosom and kissed it. He always assumed the air of one who only spoke in the name of that important party, the iconoclasts, a party which might any-day occasion a disturbance of the public peace. He wished to be regarded as a neutral, a mediator (*μεσίτης*), as he styled himself, between the two parties, labouring to negotiate a reunion; but the image-worshippers refused to enter into any conference with those whom they affected to consider as heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church. By the obstinacy and the violence of the leading men on the side of the image-worshippers, and by the impatience of the military, who demanded the extirpation of idol-worship on the other, the emperor himself was constantly propelled forward from one step to another in the measures which he adopted.

After he had dismissed the ecclesiastics from his palace, the monks assembled in a body at the residence of the abbot

Theodore, where the latter, by his authority and his words, enkindled their zeal in favour of the images. From such meetings the most dangerous consequences were to be apprehended to the public tranquillity. When the monks had retired to their cloisters, command was given by the prefect of the residential city of Constantinople, in the emperor's name, to all abbots, that they should hold no meetings together; that they must abstain from all conversations on the disputed points of faith, and from all answers to questions relating thereto. All were required to bind themselves, by the signature of their names, to obey this edict. Many subscribed without hesitation, thinking that silence was no denial of the truth; but such was not the opinion of the abbot Theodore—he refused to subscribe, saying it was right to obey God rather than man. He issued a circular letter to the monks,* severely reflecting upon the conduct of those who subscribed the edict; he declared that they had betrayed the truth and violated their duty as abbots; he opposed to them the example of the apostles, who would not be prevented by any human power from testifying of Christ; he contrasted their conduct with that of the ancient monks. Should the abbots say in justification of themselves, "*What are we?*" (What can we do against the command of the emperor?)—he had to reply: "In the first place, you are Christians, who in every way are bound to speak now; then monks, who, loosed from the ties of the world, are not to suffer yourselves to be determined by any outward considerations; finally, abbots, whose vocation it is to see that every stone of stumbling be removed from the way of others, and are the more bound therefore to avoid being stones of stumbling yourselves. Christ declares that he will refuse to receive no one who comes to him—John vi. 37. But should a monk or an abbot come to you to inquire after the truth, must you withhold from them the instruction because the emperor has commanded it? Then surely you have, by your subscription, pledged yourselves to obey the emperor rather than Christ."

At first the bishops and abbots, by their resistance to the emperor's orders, exposed themselves to persecution, not as image-worshippers, but as rebels against the imperial autho-

* L. II. ep. 2.

rity; but as it was the time of high festival, the emperor chose to do nothing then which might occasion a disturbance. On the festival of Christmas he attended the public services of the church; and as the emperor was allowed to enter the holy of holies, and there partake of the holy sacrament of the Supper, he made use of this privilege, and, as he entered, prostrated himself before the curtains of the sanctuary, on which was painted the story of Christ's nativity.* This occasioned great rejoicings among the image-worshippers. They looked upon it as a favourable omen, a token that the emperor meant to proceed no further in attacking the images; but their joy was soon at an end, for the emperor, to whom it was not agreeable, doubtless, that too much should be inferred from his conduct, omitted the ceremony of prostration at the next succeeding festival of Epiphany. The patriarch Nicephorus bid Theodore take courage: he wrote pressing letters to the empress, and to several of the more important men at court, calling upon them all to use their influence with the emperor to dissuade him from undertaking to remove the images. This brought him into still greater disgrace with the emperor, who manifested his displeasure by depriving him of an office attached to the patriarchal dignity, the oversight of the church valuables, and by forbidding him publicly to preach, or celebrate the sacrament of the Supper.† It was with reluctance that the emperor resorted to force—with reluctance that he deposed the patriarch; but having once made his own subjective views a law for the church, no other course was left for him to take. The palace of the patriarch was attacked by the soldiers,‡ which shows how deeply he had incurred the hatred of the iconoclasts. The emperor meanwhile succeeded in inducing many bishops, even such as had previously united with the patriarch in defending the images, to acquiesce in his measures. These bishops were invited to assemble in a synod (a so-called *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) at Constantinople, for the purpose of issuing the first ordinances against images. The patriarch Nicephorus steadfastly resisted their decrees,

* See the continuation of Theophanes, p. 348.

† See the Life of Nicephorus, s. 60, and the above-cited letters of Theodore, II. 2: *Κρυπτῶς ἱερουργῶν Νικήφορος ἀνατίθει τοὺς λάβρα.*

‡ As the image-worshippers assert, at the instigation of the emperor; but here we have no good reason to believe them.

and refused to recognize the authority of the synod. Therefore, in the year 815, he was deposed and banished, and Theodotus Cassiteras, a layman of noble birth belonging to an iconoclastic race, being a descendant of Constantine Copronymus, was appointed his successor; but the party of the image-worshippers, who persisted in recognizing Nicephorus as the only regular patriarch, renounced church-fellowship with the man who had been put in his place. The abbot Theodore was the soul of this party. He declared the recognition of image-worship to be one of the essentials of faith; for, according to that connection of ideas which we have already explained, faith in the true incarnation of the Logos, and consequently in Jesus, as Redeemer, seemed to him inseparably connected with the recognition of the *true image* of Jesus, and the worship of Jesus *in* his image. Confess Christ, confess his image; deny Christ, deny his image.

In the controversy between the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts generally was exhibited, as we have already pointed out in the first section relating to these disputes, the antagonism between two tendencies of the religious spirit—a tendency on the one side to *idealism*, and a tendency on the other to *realism*; though the tendency to idealism in the iconoclasts was still covered up under many foreign elements, derived from the tendency of the times to a sensuous realism, was still a more or less unconscious, undeveloped thing. That element of sensuous realism in the Christian spirit now found a powerful representative in Theodore, in whose character all was of a piece. The iconoclasts frequently insisted on the duty of worshipping God in spirit and in truth. They called it a humbling of Christ and of the Spirit to represent them by images made of earthly materials. Let Christ remain, said they, for the contemplation of the spirit; it is only by the Holy Spirit we receive into the soul his true image—a divine image of him by the work of sanctification. In opposition to this, says Theodore—"That which you consider humbling, is precisely what is exalting and worthy of God. Is it not the humiliation of self that glorifies the great? So his condescension to us, who is exalted above all, redounds to his glory. The creator of all things became flesh, and did not disdain to be so called as he appeared. If the contempla-

tion of the Spirit had sufficed, then he needed only to present himself to us in this,* and we should have to consider his human appearance and his human life as an empty show; but God forbid. He, being man, suffered as a man; he ate and drank, and was subject to all affections, like as we are, sin excepted; and thus what seems to be a humiliation, a debasement, redounded rather to the glory of the Eternal Word.”† Again, the iconoclasts maintained that, by reason of the *anhypostasia* of the humanity in Christ, the Logos itself constituting his personality, only a universal human nature could be ascribed to him, and he could not be represented with the same particular and characteristic marks as any other human individual.‡ On the other hand, Theodore says—“The universal subsists only in the individual. If we do not conceive human nature as subsisting in the individual, we must wholly deny its reality, and fall into Docetism.”§ The iconoclasts condemned images formed of earthly matter, as a degradation of the holy, the divine—as a work of pagan, juggling art; Theodore, on the contrary, sees something divine in art, that art which forms an image of man just as he himself was created after the image of God, and became a copy of the divine in human form.|| In his entire human appearance, Christ was the image of God; Christ, therefore, must also admit of being represented in the like manner.¶ Considering the subject from this point of view, it may be easily explained why Theodore should contend so zealously for images; for faith in the reality of Christ’s human nature; faith in the fact, that, through Christ, the chasm before existing betwixt God and man was filled up; faith in the glorification of human nature by Christ, was identified by him with the recognition of religious images. This connected whole of religious intuition was his point of de-

* Μεινάτω ἐν τῇ κατὰ νοῦν θεωρίᾳ.

† Antirrhetic. I. f. 75.

‡ Εἰ σάρκα παραδόξως ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὑποστάσει, ἀχαρακτηριστὸν δὲ, ὡς τὸν τινα μὴ σημαίνουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἄρα ἐφικτὸν ταύτην ψηλαφωμένην εὐρίσκεισθαι καὶ χρώμασι διαφόροις καταγράφεσθαι; Antirrhet. III. f. 108.

§ Μὴ ὄντων τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα αἰρηται ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος.

|| Τὸ κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πεποιήσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δείκνυσι Θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ὑπάρχειν τὸ τῆς εἰκονοργίας εἶδος.

¶ Antirrhet. III. f. 123.

parture in all he said, wrote, and did in the present controversy.

He assured the deposed patriarch, Nicephorus, that he sympathized with him in his sufferings for the truth.* On Palm Sunday, 815, he directed his monks to bear images in solemn procession round the court of the monastery, chanting hymns in their praise. This excited the displeasure of the emperor. He directed that Theodore should be threatened with severe punishment; but such threats could make no impression on a man who longed to suffer for what he believed to be the cause of Christ. The new patriarch, Theodotus, assembled, in the mean time, a council at Constantinople, which abolished the decrees of the second Nicene council, and again banished images from the churches. This council issued a circular letter, summoning all abbots to appear and assist in the common deliberations at Constantinople; but a large number of them declined to comply, on the ground that they did not recognize this as a regular assembly. The abbot Theodore, in the name of this opposition party, sent a letter to the synod, setting forth that, according to the ecclesiastical laws, they could not put their hands to anything which related to the general concerns of the church without their bishop, Nicephorus, nor take part in the proceedings of any synod assembled without his concurrence; at the same time expressing themselves, in the strongest terms, in favour of image-worship. As to the abbots who complied with the invitation, the emperor endeavoured to bring them over to his own views, first by friendly words, then by threats. If the latter had no effect, he caused them to be imprisoned and then sent into exile; but after a short time he recalled them, and promised them security, provided only they would recognize Theodotus as patriarch, and maintain church-fellowship with him. Thus it should seem it was the emperor's plan, when he found it impossible as yet to force these monks to submit to the decrees against images, to make them promise, at least, that though they worshipped images themselves, they would not stigmatize the other party as heretics, nor occasion any schism. A part of the monks agreed to this; many of them, however, as for instance the abbot Nicetas, afterwards

* Theodor. Studit., l. II. ep. 18.

repented that they had been induced to yield so far as this, retracted their promise, openly testified their zeal for image-worship, and thus exposed themselves to new persecutions.* The emperor met with the most violent resistance from the abbot Theodore. This abbot carried his fanatical zeal against the iconoclasts, whom he considered as heretics, to such a length, that he not only held it to be his duty to abstain from all church-fellowship with them, but to avoid all intercourse with them, to refuse even to eat or drink with them.† Whoever consented to do *even this*, was to be excommunicated, and not restored without church-penance. If all intercourse with the iconoclasts was looked upon as defiling, much less could it be permitted to receive from them, or from those who stood in church-fellowship with them, any ecclesiastical act whatsoever, baptism, distribution of the eucharist, or the consecration of a marriage.‡ As, according to the emperor's plan, it was only required of the monks that they should not renounce the fellowship of the new patriarch, and of the bishops devoted to him, many, to escape persecution, without giving up their convictions, allowed themselves to resort to a certain mental reservation—a so-called *οικονομία*. They avowed that they remained in the fellowship of the church, but by this they understood the church-fellowship with the orthodox; and thus they succeeded to overreach their examiners.§ But Theodore declared that this was not accommodation || (*οίκονομία*), but treachery to the truth;

* Vid. vita Nicetæ, s. 40.

† Κὰν ἐν βρώματι καὶ πόματι καὶ φιλίᾳ συγκάτισσι τοῖς αἵρετικοῖς, ὑπεύθυνος. Theodor. Studit., II. 32.

‡ When the iconoclasts ruled in the Greek church, and those ecclesiastics who renounced fellowship with them were regarded by the families devoted to image-worship as the only true Catholic clergy, the children from all quarters, city and country, were brought in great numbers to the latter, to receive from them the rite of baptism. See Nicetas' Life of Ignatius, Harduin. V. f. 951. And those who wished to be ordained as priests travelled for this purpose to Rome, to Lombardy, or to Naples. See Theodorus Studita, I. II. ep. 215, f. 583.

§ Theodor. ep. II. 40: Εὰν ὀρθόδοξος διαβληθεὶς ὡς μὴ κοινωνῶ, ποιήσῃ σταυρόν (the cross affixed, according to the usual custom, to the signature), ὅτι κοινωνῶ, μηδὲν ἕτερον πολυπραγμονηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔχοντος κρύβδην τῷ λογισμῷ, ὅτι περὶ ἐξ ὀρθόδοξου κοινωνῶν εἰμι.

|| In the Greek church, where the principle of *οικονομία* was often applied, in direct contradiction to truth, it must be regarded as a distin-

and whoever allowed himself in such a trick ought to be cut off, as a traitor to the truth, from the communion. The contest for images among such people, was a contest for life or death. When, through the influence of the monks, these principles were spread among the people, the iconoclasts would necessarily become objects of universal abhorrence, and the strife between the two fanatical parties lead to the most violent political disturbances. It mattered not that Theodore was banished from one place to another, placed under a stricter watch, kept under closer confinement; wherever he went he still laboured to spread image-worship, and to foment the spirit of resistance against the imperial measures. Many who had acknowledged fellowship with the patriarch, were, by his influence, induced to withdraw it again. His friends contrived to bribe his keepers, or the latter, out of pity or respect to the venerable old man, connived at many things. Thus he ever found it in his power to maintain a correspondence with his friends, and by his words, while absent as a martyr, to accomplish so much the more for the good cause. In his cell he employed himself in composing works in defence of image-worship. He told those who were conveying him away to some remoter spot of confinement, they might oblige him to change his place, but he should consider every place as his own, for the whole earth was the Lord's, and they could not compel him to silence. Thus then the emperor, who was determined not to give up the project he had once conceived, of destroying image-worship again by the civil arm, found himself compelled, when all his commands fell powerless on the inflexible will of Theodore, to resort to those violent and cruel measures which it was evidently his intention, in the first place, to avoid. His anger against the

guished merit of Theodore Studita, that he followed Basil of Cæsarea, and upheld the law of veracity as one of unconditional validity, allowing no exception for necessary falsehood. He says, in general, that the divine laws require unconditional obedience, and allow of no exception in reference to persons, times, or circumstances. Holding fast to this principle, in respect to all those so-called cases of collision which relate to the duties owed to one's self, he is still embarrassed by those cases of collision which relate to one's duties to others. In these cases he would get along, by resorting to sophistical interpretation, to a certain *reservatio mentalis*. Thus he thinks it would be unnecessary to admit that falsehood is in any case allowable. Vid. l. II. ep. 39.

monks, who chiefly resisted his will, knew no bounds. Exile, close confinement in chains, hunger and thirst, and severe scourging, were the punishments employed to compel them to yield. For the most part the persecution was directed exclusively against the monks; here and there, however, laymen, who had been hurried away by the enthusiasm of the monks, also suffered.* The greatest martyr of all was Theodore, who was left half dead under the lashes of the scourge. He had a faithful companion and sharer of his sufferings in his scholar Nicholas,† who forgot his own afflictions to administer to the wants of his spiritual father. A nun provided him with the means of sustenance, at the hazard of her life, and in despite of the insults to which she exposed herself, in one prison where he suffered from want.‡ Once, after being severely scourged, he was cast into a dungeon, where, cut off from all intercourse with others, and from all hope that on the first failure of his store of food some compassionate keeper would secretly share with him his allowance, death by starvation stared him in the face. He then wrote:§ “God nourishes us, and we praise him; but if, by God’s providence, the means of sustenance fails, my life will end, and in this also I will rejoice. This also is a great gift of God.” He saw in all things the grace of God freely bestowed without any merit of his own. ||

If we may credit Theodore,¶ whose story, we must admit, perfectly accords with the spirit of the Byzantine despotism, a secret police was established for the purpose of hunting out all the refuges of image-worship. Hired spies were scattered in every direction,** whose business it was to inform

* Theodore writes (l. II. ep. 55) to a layman, who was chained and imprisoned for image-worship, that he was the only confessor among the laity; yet in another letter (l. II. 71) he says—Women and maidens, laymen and senators, were to be found among the sufferers.

† His Life in Combefis Bibliothecæ patrum novum auctarium. Paris, 1648, T. II. In the Latin translation, in the Actis Sanctor. Februar. T. I. f. 538.

‡ Vid. l. II. ep. 94.

§ L. II. ep. 34.

|| Διὰ σπλάγχνου οἰκτιρμῶν, οὐκ ἔξ ἔργων μου τιναν· οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησά τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀλλὰ τούναντίον.

¶ L. II. ep. 14.

** Μηνυταὶ καὶ πιττακοδοταὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος μεμισ-
βώμενοι.

against every man who spoke offensively of the emperor, who refused to have any fellowship with iconoclasts; every one who wrote a book in defence of images; every one who kept images or an image in his house, who harboured a person banished for image-worship, or who ministered to the necessities of a person imprisoned for that cause—such were immediately seized, scourged, and banished. The influence of early impressions, and especially the influence of church psalmody, in propagating religious opinions, being well understood, since it was chiefly by these means that image-worship had taken so deep a hold on the minds of the people, the same means were employed to procure admission for the opposite principles. Great pains were taken to have the books used in the schools so prepared that an abhorrence of images might be infused at once into the minds of children and youth.* The old ecclesiastical hymns relating to images were expunged, and new ones introduced of an opposite tendency.†

The emperor Leo having been cut off by a conspiracy, his enemy, Michael II., the Stammerer, was, by the same party, taken from his prison and chains, and elevated to the imperial throne. Owing to the hostile relations which had subsisted between him and his predecessor, the image-worshippers might expect that he would be disposed to favour their cause. When he liberated those who had been imprisoned on account of their zeal for images, and recalled the exiles, their expectations were raised to a still higher pitch. The chiefs of the image-worshippers returned from exile, as well as the deposed patriarch Nicephorus; and the abbot Theodore Studita earnestly petitioned the emperor, that he would take measures to complete the triumph of truth and piety in the church, and begin by restoring the bond of connection betwixt the three head churches. Theodore explained to him, at length, how essential image-worship was to orthodoxy. He also applied to the courtiers, men and women, who were most

* Theodor. Studit. l. c. f. 318: Τὰ νήπια ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δόγμασιν ἀνατρεφονται τῷ δοθέντι τόμῳ τοῖς διδασκάλοις.

† Vid. lib. II. ep. 15, to the patriarch of Antioch, f. 320: Παραστίλλονται ψαλμῳδίαι ἀρχαιοπαράδοτοι, ἐν αἷς περὶ εἰκόνων ἄδειται τι, ἀντ᾿ἀδειται τὰ ἀσεβῆ νῦν δόγματα εἰς προὔπτον κείμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παισὶ πρὸς τῶν διδασκάλων παραδιδόμενα καὶ μεταστοιχείωσις τῷ ἀπάντων ἀθεωτάτῃ.

nearly attached to the emperor's person, and urged them to do their utmost in persuading him to take some decided course of action in favour of image-worship. Michael, in fact, had no particular hostility to *images*. He was not opposed to them in the same sense as the earlier emperors of this tendency; but he was opposed to the extravagant worship of images. He understood better than other Byzantine emperors how to distinguish and separate the whole sphere of his duty, as a civil ruler, from his own subjective opinions as a Christian. The restoration and preservation of tranquillity in the empire, which had been disturbed by these party disputes, was his first aim; and, to secure this, he deemed it best not to alter the existing ecclesiastical relations, but to leave every one at liberty to act, without molestation, according to his own religious convictions. Thus he expressed himself to the abbot Theodore; and all he required of the image-worshippers was, that they should not stigmatize the other party as heretics, nor do anything whereby the public quiet might be disturbed. But of course these people would be quite as little satisfied with such a policy, as with an open attack on the images. -At their own point of view, and with their impressions respecting the importance of the contested points, a tolerance of this kind appeared no better than indifference to the faith generally. It is no wonder therefore, that so many injurious reports, in part self-contradictory, respecting the heretical or sceptical character of this emperor, should get abroad, and even be handed down to posterity, the truth of which cannot, indeed, be either directly denied, or on these grounds positively affirmed; as, for example, that he maintained Judas Iscariot was saved, that he doubted the doctrine of a future resurrection, and denied the doctrine of a Satan, because no such being is mentioned in the Pentateuch. What the emperor chiefly desired was, that a conference of the theologians of the different parties might be held in his own presence, and thus a compromise be effected. This he proposed to Nicephorus and to Theodore; but the latter repeated the same objections which he had made to a similar proposal under the preceding reign. He would enter into no sort of fellowship with men whom he regarded as heretics; he avowed once more the non-Byzantine principle—emperors and civil magistrates have nothing to do with

ecclesiastical matters, the regulation of which belongs exclusively to those on whom Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It belonged to monarchs to seal and ratify, and to assist in carrying into effect, the decrees of spiritual authorities.* The emperor should, in the first place, restore Nicephorus to his office, and give over to him the direction of these matters; or if Nicephorus was suspected by him, he might have recourse to the Roman church; for a patriarch could only be judged by his equals. The bishop of Rome he regarded as the first among the patriarchs; and the whole five together were bound to maintain inviolate the organism of the church.†

Meanwhile, there was growing up an intermediate party,‡ between the zealous image-worshippers and the decided iconoclasts,—a direction which most fully accorded with the views of the emperor. This party distinguished two different stages in Christianity, the stage of the mature, those who feel no need of sensible means to excite their devotion, who are satisfied with the instruction given by the holy Scriptures; and the stage of the weak, the immature, those who need a preparatory culture by these sensible means of devotion.§ Theodore, however, would not allow that any such distinctions in the Christian church, between Bible-Christians and image-Christians, were valid; because it was contrary to the unity of the Christian platform, as laid down by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 28. Within the community of Christians, such a distinction betwixt minors and majors ought no longer to exist. He maintained, on the contrary, that as every one of the perfect, though clothed with the authority of an apostle, still needed the Scripture of the gospels, so he needed also the

* L. II. ep. 129. Βασιλίαν τὸ συνεπικουρεῖν καὶ συνεπισφραγίζειν τὰ δεδογμένα.

† Τὸ πεντακόρουφον κράτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The Roman bishop, πρῶτο-θρόνος, ὃ τὸ κράτος ἀναφέρεται τῆς οἰκουμένης συνόδου.

‡ By this party it was affirmed that the controversy did not relate to any object of faith, that it was wrong to call the opponents of images heretics, ἔνιοι δέ—says Theosterict, in his Life of Nicetas, s. 27—οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν ταύτην ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίαν.

§ So Theodor. Studita describes their way of thinking: Συγχαροῦμεν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις, ἀτελειστέροις αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ὑπὸ συμφυοῦς αὐτῶν ἐναγωγῆς καὶ ὅψι τῇ αὐτοῖς συμμέτρῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν εἰσαγωγῇ τρέπων μανθάνειν.

outward representation of images answering to that Scripture ; and the same reverence was due to both.* But on the other hand, the worship of images was by many carried to such an excess, that even Theodore was constrained to combat these extravagances as contrary to the essence of the Christian worship of God. There were those who maintained that the image of Christ must be adored in the same manner with Christ himself.† He described the bent of these enthusiasts as an error on the opposite extreme to the error of the iconoclasts.‡ It was his doctrine, on the contrary, that the λατρεία could have reference only to God ; but to Christ's image, a relative worship, προσκύνησις σχετική, was due—relative to that which is represented in the image. Hence it might be said the image of Christ is worshipped or Christ is worshipped in his image. It was not a double worship, but *one*, referring from the image to Him who is contemplated in the image.§

But now, inasmuch as the image-worshippers had, from the first breaking out of these controversies, found countenance and support from the Romish church, and inasmuch as they had spread within that church the most injurious reports respecting the erroneous doctrines prevailing in the Greek church, the emperor Michael, in the year 824, for the purpose of justifying his conduct, sent an embassy to Rome, to pope Paschalis I., with costly presents for the church of St. Peter. To insure the accomplishment of his purpose, he sent at the same time, and in the same company, an embassy to the emperor Lewis the Pious, with a letter, in which, to defend the reputation of his orthodoxy against the injurious reports

* Theodor. II. 171.

† Λατρευτὴ ἡ Χριστοῦ εἰκών.

‡ Ἡ Τζουκαλικὴ ἢ Κεντουκλαδικὴ αἵρεσις, ἥτις ἐκ διαμέτρου πρὸς τὴν εἰκονομαχικὴν ἀντιστρέφεται. II. 151. With regard to these two obscure names of sects, we may observe that the root of the first is Τζουκαλη, Τζουκαλι, which in the mediæval Greek denoted an earthen vessel, pottery: the root of the second is Κεντούκλα, Κεντουκλον,—Latin cento, centunculus, Greek κεντεν,—signification, *woven, knit*; see the Greek glossary of Dufresne, under the words cited. It is probable, therefore, that these names of sects came from images manufactured of clay, and others which were woven or knit. The latter were frequently to be met with among the later Greeks.

§ Προσκύνησις ὁμώνυμος, not συνώνυμος. II. 87, 151, 161. He declared also against those who placed such inscriptions on images as designated attributes belonging only to God, Θεότης, κυριότης, βασιλεία. II. 57.

then circulated, he laid down a confession of faith, and in which he solicited the good offices of the emperor to further his cause with the pope. In justification of the measures resorted to in the Greek church against images, he describes in this letter the extravagant pitch to which the superstition of the image-worshippers had gone. Crosses had been removed from the churches,* and images substituted in their place; lights were placed before these images, and incense burnt to them. The same honour was paid to images as to the sign of the cross on which Christ had suffered for the salvation of mankind. Before the images hymns were chanted, and help was invoked from them; some took them for god-fathers in the baptism of their children; others had employed them in preference to pious and living men, to witness their consecration to the monastic life.† Many of the clergy had mixed the paint from these images with the sacramental wine; and after the celebration of the eucharist given of it to those whom they chose to honour with such a privilege. Others had placed the Lord's body in the hand of an image, thus making it a communicant. The measures which he had adopted against images, he represents as designed merely to suppress such superstitions; hence the images had been removed from the inferior places, but allowed to remain in the higher, where they might serve as a pictorial substitute for the Scriptures.‡

The emperor Theophilus, who succeeded his father Michael in the year 830, was animated by a warm sympathy for the affairs of the church, and his piety manifested itself also in those forms in which alone it could at that time be acknowledged in the Greek church—in the zealous worship of Mary and the saints. He was the author of several church hymns, which were publicly used. Since his piety exhibited itself in the common church forms, the image-worshippers confidently expected that by his means the images would be restored to their ancient honour; for they could conceive of

* Which the emperor—whether the fact was so or not—carefully noticed, in order to represent his opponents as dishonouring the holy symbol, thus placing them in an odious light.

† *Adhibitis imaginibus quasi in sinum earum decidere capillos (in the tonsure) sinebant.*

‡ *Mansi Concil. T. XIV. f. 419.*

true piety only in connection with image-worship—but they were doomed to disappointment. The vital interest he felt in religion was the very cause which determined the emperor to resort to more violent measures against images; for in image-worship he saw a renewal of idolatry, which he believed himself called upon in every way to destroy. His teacher, John the Grammarian—that violent enemy of images, had deeply imbued him with his own principles. John was his principal adviser in all these measures; and when the patriarchate of Constantinople fell vacant, John was elevated by his grateful pupil to this highest spiritual dignity. To the emperor Theophilus it appeared, for so he expressed it, a thing unworthy of man's spirit, which should rise to the pure contemplation of divine things, to undertake to move it by such low, sensual impressions, thus drawing it down to sense. But he was bent on making his own subjective views a law to others; when, therefore, he experienced from the monks (among whom were several skilful painters, men who united the religious interest with the artistic) the most determined opposition, he yielded to the dictates of passion. The monks, who as teachers and artists laboured for the promotion of image-worship, were banished, scourged, and subjected to various cruel and ignominious punishments.* A monk, Lazarus, who after suffering severe bodily castigation was set at liberty, fled to a church in Constantinople, dedicated to John the Baptist, and, forgetting his pain in the enthusiasm for religious art, painted on the spot a picture of John the Baptist, which long continued to be held in the highest veneration in the Greek church, and even enjoyed the reputation of performing miraculous cures.†

But while Theophilus was directing all the energies of the imperial government to the extirpation of image-worship, the way was preparing for a new reaction within his own domestic circle, in favour of that worship, and once more from a woman. The empress Theodora came from a family devoted to image-

* Two well-known sufferers under this reign were the monks and brothers Theodore (surnamed *ὁ γραπτός*, from certain letters branded on his face, as it is said, by the emperor's command) and Theophanes the singer.

† See, besides others, Constantin. Porphyrogenet. *continuat.*—reign of this emperor, s. 13.

worship, and she had been educated in it. Her mother, Theoctista, who resided in Constantinople, sedulously cherished this religious tendency in her and in her children. Once, when the daughters of the empress were on a visit to her, she took some images from a chest, in which she kept them concealed, and showing them to the children, exhorted them to hold such objects sacred, and to worship them. She made the young princesses kiss them, applied the images to their faces, to their brows, that they might be sanctified by the holy touch. The emperor was informed of all this by his youngest daughter, who, with the ingenuousness of a child, answered all his questions. He found out also that his wife kept images by her, and worshipped them. Yet he took no active measures to guard against a future movement in favour of image-worship; though he is said to have drawn a promise from Theodora that after his death the arrangements he had established should not be altered.* He died early, leaving behind him Theodora, with a minor son, Michael. The guardianship of the young prince was entrusted to his uncle Manuel, and to Theoctistus. Both were image-worshippers; but Theoctist was the most zealous of the two, and was in favour of restoring image-worship at once. But the more prudent Manuel, dreading the resistance they would have to encounter from the party of the iconoclasts, which during the last reign had been raised again to importance, held him back; besides, Theodora was afraid to do anything against the will of her beloved husband, to whom she had made so sacred a promise. Meantime a preparatory measure, of some importance towards the wished-for change, was the recalling of the monks from their different places of exile, who now exerted their whole influence to bring about once more the triumph of image-worship in the popular mind. An unexpected circumstance favoured their designs. Manuel was attacked with a dangerous sickness. Several monks visited him, and, standing around his sick bed, soothed his departing moments with their prayers and spiritual songs. They told him that God would spare his life, if he would pledge himself to devote it to the work of restoring the images. He promised; and having recovered, felt himself bound to make every effort to redeem his vow. Theoctist

* Genes. I. III. ed. Lachmann, p. 71.

entered fully and heartily into all his plans. The empress Theodora showed at first more hesitation—the memory of her husband was still dear to her ; but being herself devoted to image-worship in its most superstitious form, her feelings on this point were easily wrought upon, when Manuel hinted at the danger of exciting the divine displeasure, so it was resolved that the usual measures should be taken for the restoration of image-worship. The patriarch John, of Constantinople, who adhered steadfastly to his principles, was compelled to resign his office, and retire to a monastery. The monk Methodius, a zealot for image-worship, who had suffered much for the cause during the preceding reign, was appointed to take his place. But Theodora still cherished too sacred a regard for the memory of her husband to be willing to acquiesce in another measure, by which it was proposed to anathematize him as a promoter of heresy. She informed the new patriarch and the other assembled bishops, that there was but one condition on which she could consent to the restoration of image-worship, which was, that they should pledge themselves to obtain from God the pardon of her husband. The patriarch Methodius explained to her, that the power of the keys which they possessed reached only to the living ; that they could do nothing for the souls of the departed, except in a few cases of minor transgression, but which had evidently been followed by repentance.* The case was entirely different with those who had manifestly passed from this life to perdition, as in their opinion must be the certain fate of all promoters of erroneous doctrines and persecutors of the orthodox. The empress, bent on obtaining at any rate from the clergy the wish of her heart, now resorted to a fiction †—whether it came up in her own mind, or was suggested to her by another—whereby she hoped that her request might be granted without any violation of the doctrine of the church. She declared that her husband had certainly been induced before his death, by her own representations of the dreadful curse of the church impending over him, to repent of and to renounce his heresy. Thereupon the bishops assured her, that the case being so, they could promise that he should be forgiven of God ; and

* The procuring of a speedier deliverance from purgatory.

† For had there been any truth in it, she would doubtless have mentioned it before, since it would have so well answered her purpose.

they gave her a written declaration to this effect. Thus her remaining scruples were removed, and she consented to all that was proposed to be done for the restoration of image-worship.*

It was now determined that the images should be again triumphantly introduced into the head church of Constantinople. The 19th of February, the first Sunday of Lent in the year 842, was the day appointed for this celebration. Ecclesiastics and monks from far and near flocked together on this occasion, and with solemn pomp, attended by nobles and dignitaries of church and state, conveyed the images to the church to which they were to be restored. This day was ever after observed in the Greek church as a high festival, called the feast of Orthodoxy (*πανήγυρις τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*); but the allusion was soon made more general, and the feast referred to the triumph and maintenance of pure doctrine.

The new patriarch Methodius did not proceed with the same forbearance which had been shown by the patriarch Tarasius at the former restoration of image-worship and in the second Nicene council. Profiting by the experience that the very individuals who, by a hypocritical recantation before that council, had managed to retain their spiritual dignities, came out under Leo the Armenian as the most violent opponents of images, he resolved that the same thing should not occur again. All who had taken an active part against images, or who, after previous recantation, had once more joined the iconoclasts, were deposed, and the places vacated by them filled with staunch and trustworthy image-worshippers.† But the party of the iconoclasts, which had now propagated itself for an entire century, and which had been again in possession of the power for twenty years, could not thus be crushed at a blow. It maintained a lingering existence for a while longer, numbering among its adherents persons belonging to different ranks of society, the deposed clergy serving as its teachers. It was a faction, anxiously waiting for some favourable political change again to lift up its head. When the empress Theodora, that zealous friend of image-worship, lost her influence,

* Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuator. 1. IV. c. 4. f. 95. ed. Paris.

† Life of the patriarch Ignatius by Nicetas. Harduin's Concil. T. V. f. 953.

and her son Michael took the reins of government into his own hands; when Ignatius, the successor of Methodius, and a no less devoted image-worshipper than the latter, was compelled to resign his office;* these changes served, no doubt, to revive the hopes of the iconoclastic faction. But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. Photius, the new patriarch, was also zealously devoted to image-worship, and the two contending parties, the friends of Ignatius and those of Photius, were of precisely the same mind on *this one point*. But the correspondence of the latter furnishes evidence of the influence still possessed by the remaining iconoclasts; for we find letters addressed to ecclesiastics, to courtiers, and to monks, filled with the refutation of iconoclastic arguments.† And when recourse‡ was had by the Greek church to the see of Rome amid the disputes between the parties of Ignatius and of Photius, though the new movement of the iconoclasts was rather the pretext than the real occasion of this step, yet undoubtedly some foundation of truth lay at the bottom of

* See further on.

† Among which arguments was a singular and novel one, and an equally singular refutation of it by Photius. Said the Iconoclasts:—"Different races of people, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians, had each their several image of Christ. No one of these images resembled any other; but as there is no good reason for supposing that one only among all these different types is genuine, and for declaring all the others to be false, it follows that we must absolutely deny that any true image of Christ exists." To this Photius replies:—"The reasoning is the same as if it should be argued from the diversity of the translations of the gospels into different languages, that there was no true gospel." Strictly taken, this comparison, we must admit, would not do, and an iconoclast would have found no difficulty in refuting it. At the same time, the illustration may hold good, perhaps, in one respect, viz. the several national images of Christ might be considered as so many particular national versions, so to speak, of the one Christ belonging to humanity. Accordingly he proceeds to say—"We might, by the same reasoning, deny in general the reality of Christ's human appearance, for the people of each several nation represent to themselves the form of Christ as one similar to their own." Λεγετώσαν, ὡς ἐπιδῇ "Ἕλληνες μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅμοιον ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν νομίζουσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς εἰκότα, Ἰνδοὶ δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ Αἰθίοπες δῆλον ὡς ἑαυτοῖς, ἐπὶ ταῦτα, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθὴς Χριστός; Vid. ep. 64. It deserves notice, too, that Photius appeals here not to the existence of a genuine image of Christ, handed down by tradition, but only to the higher, ideal unity lying at the ground of the whole diversity of types.

‡ See, below, the history of these controversies.

this pretext.* And this view of the matter is confirmed by the next succeeding events; for even at the ecumenical council held at Constantinople in the year 869, of which we shall speak hereafter, the controversy with the iconoclasts was again brought forward. Theodore, surnamed *Κριθινος*, appeared here at the eighth sitting, as the head of this party; —with him came three other members of it, Nicetas an ecclesiastic, Theophanes a jurist, and another layman, Theophilus. This Theodore, being called upon in the name of the council to renounce his erroneous doctrine, was at first silent. Upon this, one of the imperial commissioners handing him a coin stamped with the image of the emperor, said, “Dost thou adopt this coin?” Theodore answered, “I adopt it, and honour it, as one should honour an imperial coin.” Then said the commissioner, “If thou despisest not the image of a mortal emperor, how darest thou despise the divinely human image of our Lord, the image of his holy mother, and the images of all the saints?” Theodore replied, “Of the image which thou showest me, I am certain it is the likeness of the emperor. Thou requirest of me that I should receive also an image of Christ; but I know not that this is the command of Christ, or that it is well-pleasing to him.” The commissioner then said they had not assembled there to dispute with him, but to admonish him. He adhered steadfastly to his convictions, and the anathema was pronounced by the synod on him and on all opposers of image-worship. His three companions, however, declared that they were induced by the perfect unanimity which they observed in the synod, to renounce their erroneous doctrine, and they pronounced the anathema on those whom they had hitherto acknowledged as their teachers. They were rewarded with *an embrace* by the emperor, who was present at the proceedings.†

* Though pope Nicholas was well aware that the image-controversies were, in this case, only a pretext, yet he was not ignorant of the fact, that the iconoclasts in the Greek church were still active; for, in intimating his knowledge of the former, he at the same time says, in his letter to the emperor Michael: *Super hac causa strepitus et blasphemiarum non cessarunt et nunc ibidem profana predicantur et hucusque sacrilega pronuntiantur.* Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 160.

† Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1089.

APPENDIX.

Participation of the Western Church in these Controversies.

THE popes, it is true, adhered to the principles followed by their predecessors, ever since the breaking out of these controversies; and they furnished the most powerful support to the persecuted image-worshippers among the Greeks. But the Frank church, which occupied a middle position between the two parties, availed itself of an opportunity presented by the Greek church itself, to express once more, on the renewal of these image-controversies, its own peculiar principles with remarkable freedom. This opportunity was presented, when the emperor Michael,* as above related, applied by his ambassadors to Lewis the Pious, for his mediation. In complying with this request of the Greek emperor, Lewis resolved, by the advice of his wiser and less bigoted bishops, to make it an occasion of presenting to the pope himself, in a kind and considerate manner, and without any appearance of contradiction to the Romish church, a fair statement of the truth, in opposition to image-worship, with a view, if possible, to obtain his sanction to it. For this reason, he begged leave of pope Eugenius II. to have a collection of remarks by the older fathers, on the subject of image-worship, drawn up by a synod of his bishops, for the instruction of the Greeks; the design at bottom being, undoubtedly, to operate afterwards, by means of these authorities, upon the mind of the pope himself. The pope could not but feel himself flattered by such a proposal, and, with his approbation, a synod for deliberating on this matter was held at Paris in the year 825. This synod drew up a collection of sayings by the ancient fathers, on the right use of images, as well in opposition to image-worship as to the total rejection of images. Entering fully into the crafty plan devised by the emperor Lewis for laying a train of negotiations with the pope, they drew up a writing, which the emperor, in the name of the synod, was to address to the pope, laying before him the collected testimonies of the church

* See p. 283.

fathers, and besides—a circumstance which characterizes their relation to the pope—they appointed a committee from their own number to draw up a letter in the name of the latter, which he might send, if he thought proper, to the Greek emperor. The synod, in their letter to the emperor Lewis, openly and decidedly avowed their opposition to the reigning superstition in the Romish church with regard to image-worship; a superstition of which many among the assembled bishops had been eye-witnesses.* They pointedly animadverted upon the style in which pope Hadrian I. had undertaken to refute the Carolinian Books. In opposing that work, he had stated things which were at variance with the truth, and with the authority of the ancient church doctrine;† and they knew of no other excuse which could be offered for him, than that he had erred through ignorance rather than advisedly;‡ as might be inferred from the fact, that Hadrian ultimately appealed to his agreement with Gregory the Great, though that pope was really opposed to image-worship. They expressed their joy to the emperor, that he had been enabled to set on foot such an investigation for the advancement of the truth, under the very authority of one who took the opposite side, which authority would now be under the necessity, even in spite of itself, to yield to the truth.§ They confirmed the emperor in his intention of so expressing everything that deserved to be censured in the two opposite tendencies of the image-worshippers and of the iconoclasts,|| as if it were directed solely against

* Illorum (qui in sacra sede Petri apostoli resident) erga imagines supersticiosam venerationem quidam visu, omnes vero aliorum relatu cognoscimus. *Mausi Concil. T. XIV. f. 424.*

† Talia quædam sunt, quæ in illorum objectionem opposuit, quæ et veritati et auctoritati refragantur; and then afterwards: aliquando absona, aliquando inconvenientia, aliquando etiam reprehensione digna.

‡ Quod non tantum scienter, quantum ignoranter in eodem facto a recto tramite deviaverit.

§ Ut ejus auctoritate quæreretis veritatem, cujus auctoritas deviare videbatur ab ipsa, quatenus veritas patefacta, dum se in medium ostenderet, etiam ipsa auctoritas volens nolensque veritati cederet atque succumberet.

|| Walch, in his *History of Heresies and Schisms* (Vol. XI. p. 122), is not quite correct in saying it was believed, in the Frankish church, that only these two opposite tendencies existed in the Greek church, and that

the Greeks, who might be corrected with freedom, and with regard to whom less fear might be entertained of giving offence.* The emperor Lewis appointed archbishop Jeremiah of Sens, and bishop Jonas of Orleans, his envoys to the pope: he gave them express instructions to lay only that part of the collection formed by the synod before the pope, to which the pope and his advisers could have nothing to object.† He dreaded the Roman obstinacy and the Roman arrogance; and for this reason he particularly enjoined it upon his envoys to use great prudence and caution in their treatment of the pope, lest perchance the evil might only be made worse. They were not openly to contradict him, but to take pains, by entering into his own views, to manage the matter in such a way as that he might discover himself the right mean to be observed in relation to this subject.‡ The letter which he wrote to the pope§ was also conceived with reference to the same object. He proposed to the pope, that when the latter sent envoys to the Greek emperor, the two embassies, the pope's and his own, should go together. Respecting the issue of these negotiations of the emperor Lewis with the pope, history is silent. As the Roman church, however, ever held fast to its traditional mode of thinking on this subject, and was not fond of being instructed, it is probable that the experiment failed, having made shipwreck, as the emperor feared it would,

nothing was known there of a moderate and a middle tendency. This latter tendency could hardly fail to be noticed in the letter of the emperor Michael. There was but one respect in which this emperor seemed to the Frankish bishops to go too far, namely, in not tolerating images in low places: "*Quoniam cætera alia secundum auctoritatem veritatis, sicut in suis scriptis continetur, idem imperator fecerit, propter hoc tamen factum quosdam illarum partium infirmos scandalisasse nec non quosdam nostræ urbis Romanæ perturbasse.*"

* Qui libere admoneri possunt et quorum scandalum, si pro veritate ortum fuerit, facilius tolerari potest.

† Quod ipse vel sui rejicere minime valeant. See the instruction of the emperor to his envoys, in Mansi Concil. T. XV. f. 436.

‡ Vos ipsi tam patienter ac modeste cum eo de hac causa disputationem habeatis, ut summopere caveatis, ne nimis ei resistendo eum in aliquam irrevocabilem pertinaciam incidere compellatis, sed paulatim verbis ejus quasi obsequendo magis quam aperte resistendo, ad mensuram, quæ in habendis imaginibus retinenda est, eum deducere valeatis.

§ Mansi, l. c. f. 437.

on the *pertinacia Romana*. But with the moderate opponents of image-worship among the Greeks, to whom the emperor Michael belonged, it would be easier to come to an understanding.*

III. RELATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES TO EACH OTHER, AND CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THEM.

As to the relation of the Latin church to the Greek, the way had long since been prepared for a schism between the two, by their different characters and different courses of development; though these differences, with a few transient exceptions, had as yet passed unnoticed in the consciousness of Christian fellowship. The difference between the Greek and the Roman mind produced, as we have already had occasion to remark from the very beginning, a difference of character in the two churches:—the lively and active intellectual bent of the Greek mind produced the more speculative character of the one, and the stiff and rigid bent of the Roman mind, which clung to the traditions of the past, the more practical character of the other. *This* relation, it is true, had now altered: the spiritual life of the Greek church had become stiffened into formalism; while the Western church had received into its bosom new races in the fresh vigour of youth which gave birth to a new intellectual movement. But the peculiar character of the systems of faith, which had been formed in each of the two churches, continued still to operate, even under this change of relations. Many differences, arising out of the development of the systems of faith peculiar to the two churches, which became prominent in the doctrinal controversies, were but transitory appearances, and were obliterated by the results to which they led; but there were other differences, which had more lasting consequences. By means

* Halitgar, archbishop of Cambrai, and Ansfrid, abbot of Nonantula, were sent on this business by the emperor to Constantinople, where they met with a friendly reception. See the anonymous *Life of Lewis the Pious*, year 828, in Pertz, *Monumenta Germ.* T. II. f. 631.

of Augustin, whose influence did not extend to the Eastern church, the general system of doctrine took its shape and direction more decidedly from the doctrine of redemption, as a centre, and from the anthropology connected therewith. But among the Greeks the case was otherwise. While in the Western church the Augustinian scheme of doctrine had become dominant, in the Greek church the older and more indefinite mode of apprehending the doctrines of grace, of free-will, and of providence, a theory bordering on Pelagianism, had been preserved. *This* dogmatical difference constitutes, it is true, the most important one; but it remained, for the most part, an unconscious difference. It was not brought prominently to view by any public determinations of faith, and hence, on a superficial contemplation of the relation of the two churches to each other, was less apt to strike the eye. Far more importance was attached to another point of difference, which in itself was of inferior moment, but which became of more moment because the difference was made prominent in a public symbol.

We observed in the second period, how the two churches came to differ in their mode of apprehending the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, while neither church seemed to be distinctly conscious of any opposition in which it stood to the other, and how from this arose an additional article to the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. It is true, the great dogmatist of the Greek church, John of Damascus, laid down this doctrine in his doctrinal system, according to its peculiar form in the Greek church; yet he did it in such a way as to leave room for a middle course. He restored unity to the Triad, by following the ancient theory of the Greek church; representing God the Father as the $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$; and in this view, the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than the being of the Son, as grounded in and derived from the Father. The Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the Spirit of the Father; not from the Son, but still the Spirit of the Son. He proceeds from the Father, the one $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ of all being, and he is communicated through the Son; through the Son the whole creation shares in the Spirit's work; by himself he creates, moulds, sanctifies all, and binds all together. John of Damascus makes use of the following illustration: "As the ray of light,

and the illumination it sheds, both proceed from the sun,* but the illumination is communicated to us through the ray, so the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than that of the Son, is grounded in the Father, but the communication of the Holy Spirit, his influence diffused over the whole creation, is through the mediation of the Son."† This statement, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, was the point of mediation by which the two churches might come together on this doctrine.‡

By occasion of the negotiations between the two churches of which we spoke in the history of the preceding period, this disputed point was brought up in a synod at Gentilly, A.D. 767, and the Western form of the doctrine held fast. The intercourse between the two churches in the time of Charlemagne led to new discussions of the subject at various synods; at Forum Julium (Friuli) in the year 791, at Aix la Chapelle in the year 809, where also the point was decided in opposition to the Greek church. The emperor Charles took a lively interest in these controversies, and induced Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans to defend the doctrine of the Western church, by collections of excerpts from the ancient fathers. Since now that addition to the ancient creed, which had been imported from the Spanish church into the churches of France, had not as yet been received in the church of Rome, the emperor wished to obtain a confirmation of it by pope Leo III. from which quarter, perhaps, a disposition had already been shown to contradict the formulary. He communicated, by an embassy to the pope, the decisions of the assembly held at Aix, and wrote him a letter proving the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son, by quotations from the ancient fathers. The negotiations which took place on this occasion between the emperor's envoys (two bishops and an abbot) and the pope, who at that time dared not address the emperor's messengers in the im-

* Ἡ ἀκτὶς ἡ ἐλλαμψις.

† See I. I. c. 7 et 8.

‡ Ἰσοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ' ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· μόνος γὰρ αἰτίος ὁ πατήρ. This conciliatory representation, so expressed, is to be found, however, only in the section at the twelfth chapter, which in the oldest manuscripts is wanting.

perative tone assumed at a later period, are well worthy of notice.* Three subjects were here presented for discussion: respecting the contested doctrine in itself; respecting the custom not existing in the Roman church, but which had been received in the Frankish, of chanting the symbol in divine service, instead of reciting it; and respecting the chanting it with the additional clause. With the doctrine, the pope expressed his agreement; the deviation from the use of the Roman church, in reference to the chanting of the symbol, he let pass; but he did not think he could approve of *the addition* to the symbol. The imperial envoys stood upon the principle, that what came by tradition might be reformed and improved—the principle of progress in the church. “If this doctrine, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son, contains a weighty truth, then—as they supposed—no means should be left untried to make it more widely known; and to this end, the public chanting of it in the symbol particularly contributed. In this way many, who otherwise would have known nothing about it, were instructed in the doctrine.”† But the pope proceeded at this time on the same principle with that followed in the Greek church, which would allow no alteration to be made in the symbol;—the principle that nothing ought to be altered in the decisions of a general council illuminated by the Holy Ghost. The fathers of that council had been guided by the Holy Ghost, as in all other respects so also in this, that they had *not* introduced this further exposition of the doctrine into the symbol, and therefore there must have been good reasons for omitting it. Indeed there were important determinations of the truth of faith, which had never been adopted into any symbol. And this article in particular, on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, seemed to him to belong among the number of those truths of faith which all would by no means be competent to understand, and which are necessary only to the salvation of those

* The protocol drawn up by the abbot Smaragd in Baronius, year 809, N. 54, and Harduin. Concil. T. IV. f. 970.

† Si enim sciret paternitas tua, say the envoys, quanta sunt hodie millie id scientium, quia cantatur, qui nunquam scituri essent, nisi cantaretur, fortasse nobiscum teneret.

who are capable of understanding them.* So far was the Roman church at that time from wishing to make this determination a public matter of dispute.

John Scotus, who, as we have observed, had been greatly influenced by the study of the teachers of the Eastern church, approximated in his views on this point also more closely to the Greeks, or rather he adopted the formulary which was intended to reconcile the opposite positions. It appears to him unreasonable to suppose that one cause should proceed from two, especially in the case of a nature the most simple of all.† To illustrate the case, he makes use of the same comparison with John of Damascus: but he prosecutes it further, and handles it with more acuteness and ingenuity. "Though the light from a fire proceeds through the medium of the ray, yet we cannot say that the light proceeds from two causes, but the fire is the cause which produces the light as well as the ray. The ray produces the light, not as a ray, not as an independent cause by itself; but it is the ever-present power of the fire which causes ray and light to proceed from itself, as the efficient cause in both.‡ So the Father is the generating cause of his only begotten Son, and the Son is the cause of all archetypal causes which were created in him by the Father;§ and the same Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit proceeding from him, which Spirit is the cause of the distribution of

* Sunt enim multa, e quibus istud unum est, sacræ fidei altiora mysteria, subtilioraque sacramenta, ad quorum indagationem pertingere multi valent, multi vero aut ætatis quantitate aut intelligentiæ qualitate præditi non valent. Et ideo, qui potuerit et noluerit, salvus esse non poterit.

† Ex duabus namque causis unam causam confluere, rationi non facile occurrit, præsertim in simplici natura et plusquam simplici et, ut verius dicatur, in ipsa simplicitate, omni divisione et numerositate carente. De divisione Naturæ, l. II. c. 31.

‡ Radius ipse ex igne nascens, non ita nascitur, ut gignentem se ignem deserat, sed ita gignitur, ut virtus ignea, quæ cum gignit, semper et ubique inseparabiliter et immutabiliter in eo permaneant, tota in toto, et totus in tota, et unum duo et duo unum, et quamvis videatur splendor de radio exire, non tamen ex ipso radio, in quantum radius est, sed ex ipsa virtute procedit, ex qua radius nascitur, et quæ tota et totum radium et totum splendorem penetrat atque implet. L. II. c. 32.

§ The causæ prototypæ, primordiales, in the Logos, the archetypes of all existence.

all the causes created by the Father in the Son, in their general and special operations throughout the kingdoms of nature and of grace." Moreover, the comparison with the internal structure of the human mind, which Augustine had employed to illustrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son, was made use of by John Scotus to illustrate his own view of the doctrine. "Although the soul's love for itself, which answers to the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the soul through the medium of self-consciousness, yet self-consciousness is not the cause of the love, but it is the soul in itself, from which the germ of love proceeds, even before it has attained to complete self-consciousness." *

Besides these dogmatical differences between the two churches, there were several others relating to the church-constitution and to church-life—differences respecting the origin of which we have spoken in the preceding period. These points of difference were more especially expressed, on the part of the Greek church as opposed to the Latin, by the second Trullan council in the year 691 or 692. Thus, in the 36th canon of this council, the determination of the first general council of Constantinople and of the Chalcedonian council was confirmed, that the Constantinopolitan patriarch should possess the same rights with the Roman, and have the first rank after the latter.† In the 13th canon it was established that married persons might be ordained as priests, deacons, and subdeacons; and that, at their ordination, they should not be obligated to separate from their wives. The council, by passing this decree in express opposition to the Roman church, more than hinted that, by the latter, the state of wedlock, instituted by the divine law, and sanctioned by Christ's presence at a wedding, was dishonoured; ‡ and they cite, on the other side, the passages of Scripture, Matt. xix. 6;

* *Mens et notitiam sui gignit et a se ipsa amor sui et notitiæ sui procedit, quo et ipsa et notitia sui conjunguntur, et quamvis ipse amor ex mente per notitiam sui procedat, non tamen ipsa notitia causa amoris est, sed ipsa mens, ex qua amor inchoat esse, et antequam ad perfectam notitiam sui mens ipsa perveniat.* p. 91.

† See the controversy on this subject in a former volume.

‡ "ἵνα μὴ ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ εὐλογηθέντα τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ γάμον καθυξίζειν ἐκείνασθωμεν.

Heb. xiii. 4; 1 Cor. vii. 27. Sentence of deposition was pronounced on those who acted in contradiction to this ordinance. In the 2nd canon the number of apostolical canons held to be good and valid is fixed at eighty-five, while the Roman church adopted but fifty of them. Connected with this was the fact that many things ordered in those later canons were settled as law, which possessed no such validity in the Roman church. Thus this council condemned, in conformity with the 66th apostolical canon,* the prevailing custom in the Roman church, whereby fasting in the season of fast before Easter was extended also to the Sabbath (Saturday). To this we may add, that to the decrees of the apostolical convention of Jerusalem (Acts xv.), which had been long considered in the Western church as possessing validity only for a determinate period of time,† was ascribed a perpetual validity; and that eating of blood, and of things strangled, was forbidden on pain of exclusion from the church-communion.‡ Finally, that those figures of Christ, by which he was represented in the form of a lamb,§ in allusion to the words of John the Baptist, were forbidden as belonging to the stage of the Old Testament.

The change which ensued in the constitution of the Western church in consequence of the complete elaboration of the papacy, might also contribute towards producing a wall of separation between the two churches. Thus by a combination of different causes, the way was prepared for a schism between the two churches; but such a schism would not as yet have actually taken place had it not been for an impulse from without. The occasion of this impulse was as follows.

Nicetas was the youngest son of that emperor Michael I. (Rhangabe), who, by giving place in the year 813 to Leo the Armenian, exchanged the imperial throne for a monastery. Nicetas also, at the age of fourteen, became a monk, and assumed, on entering upon the monastic life, the name Ignatius, under which he appears in history. His family furnished a place of refuge for the persecuted image-worshippers in the

* In the 55th canon.

† See History of the planting and guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles, p. 148 and 275; though this was forgotten again during the times of ignorance and barbarism in the Western church.

‡ By the 67th canon.

§ By the 82nd canon.

time of Leo the Armenian. His own services as a priest were claimed on all hands by those who denied the validity of any religious act performed by ecclesiastics attached to the party of the iconoclasts, and he distinguished himself by the earnest activity of a life the animating spirit of which was love. Recommended by his own merits as well as by his illustrious descent, he was elevated by the empress Theodora, in 846, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. He administered the office under circumstances calculated to involve a man of his worthy character in many a conflict in that bad time, when the court of the young emperor Michael, ruled by the influence of his unprincipled uncle Bardas, was the seat of every corruption. As Ignatius would not consent to serve as the tool of wickedness, but felt himself bound to oppose it with the whole force of his patriarchal authority, he would naturally fall out with the ambitious and quarrelsome Bardas. Declining to give his assent to a measure whereby the empress Theodora, whom Bardas wished to remove from her son in order that he might rule alone, was to be consecrated as a nun, and declaring on the contrary his firm opposition to such a proceeding, he drew down upon himself, even by this step, the hatred of that powerful man. But in addition to this, Ignatius had endeavoured to awaken his conscience to the sense of a crime charged against him by public report, and, after finding that his representations and threats availed nothing, had refused, on the feast of Epiphany of the year 857, to admit him to the Holy Supper. Bardas now resolved to get rid of the troublesome patriarch, and for this purpose fabricated against him various charges designed to prove him guilty of high treason, and attached himself to a party which, from the first, had declared itself opposed to the appointment of Ignatius to the patriarchal dignity, and of which Gregory of Syracuse, a deposed archbishop, was the leader. As the result of these machinations, Ignatius, without a judicial trial, was banished to the island Terebinthus.*

To give this arbitrary act a more favourable colouring,

* See Life of Ignatius by his enthusiastic admirer, Nicetas David of Pophlagaria, a book written with great heat, and hence liable to be suspected of exaggeration. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 955. Genes. hist. regg. l. IV. ed. Lachmann. p. 99.

Bardas resolved to nominate to the patriarchal dignity a man who had acted, indeed, hitherto only in civil employments, but whose learning and talents commanded universal respect, while he was descended from a family distinguished for their zeal in favour of image-worship *—a man who had already drawn down upon himself the anathema of the iconoclasts,† and one whose orthodoxy was beyond question.‡ The learned Photius, who was then prime secretary to the emperor and captain of his body-guard,§ was speedily carried through the different clerical grades, and then elevated to the patriarchal dignity. In apologizing to pope Nicholas for the informality of this proceeding, Photius declares that the patriarchal dignity was forced upon him against his own wishes; and in his letters to Bardas himself, he assumes it as a fact of which Bardas was well aware, that he had sought in every possible way to decline the appointment, but had been compelled to accept it. || This is repeated by him on a great variety of occasions; and later, during his exile and after his restoration to the office,

* Photius, in his 113th letter, ed. Montacut., says that his father and his uncle (Θεῖος) had been condemned by a whole synod of the εἰκονομάχοι, and calls them ὁμολογητᾶς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέων σεμνολόγημα; they must have been bishops therefore. It was the glory of his father and of his mother to have died in contending for the cause of piety, i. e. image-worship. See Harduin. Concil. VI. l. f. 286. By his uncle we are probably to understand his great uncle, for this was the patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople, whom Photius in his letter to pope Nicholas designates as his proavunculus, Baron. Annal. year 861. s. 47.

† He says, ep. 113: ἀναθεμάτισαν ἡμᾶς χρόνοις μακροῖς πᾶσα σύνοδος αἵρετική καὶ πᾶν εἰκονομάχων συνέδριον.

‡ At one time, it is true, the opinion expressed by Photius, and more frequently to be found in church teachers of the earlier ages, that man possesses two souls, a ψυχὴ λογικὴ, the πνεῦμα or νοῦς, and a ψυχὴ ἄλογος, had given offence; see the statement of Anastasius, in his preface to the transactions of the eighth ecumenical council. Harduin. V. p. 752. But surely this insignificant dispute had long since been forgotten, and the party of Ignatius afterwards looked it up only for the purpose of making Photius suspected of heresy. Accordingly, the synod at Constantinople in 869, in their 10th canon, pronounced the anathema on all those who, contrary to Holy Scripture, supposed human nature possessed of another soul besides the one ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ νοερά. Harduin. V. f. 1101.

§ Protospatharius.

|| He writes afterwards to Bardas, in reference to this election: ἔκλειον, ἐδυσώπων, παντα μᾶλλον ἐποίουν, ἢ τοῖς ψηφίζομένοις καὶ βιαζομένοις συγκατίνευσον. ep. VI. f. 70. ed. Montacut.

he asserts the same thing. The fact, therefore, that he struggled against accepting the patriarchal dignity cannot be denied; but in this age of prevailing insincerity, among a people accustomed in the public life of church and state to sport with the forms of language, these repeated asseverations of Photius by no means make it clear that the first ecclesiastical dignity of the Greek empire, the place of greatest power next to the imperial throne, presented nothing attractive to his ambition or his vanity. The mask of humility was often worn by the Greeks of that period as a cover to ambition; and the grossly informal manner in which he had become possessed of the office might be an additional inducement to him to put on this mask, so as to have it in his power on any future occasion to plead that the office was forced upon him. But however attractive to him might be the splendour of the patriarchal dignity, there were also many things on the other hand which rendered his prospects far from inviting, and which must have filled him with boding anxiety: this, indeed, he confesses in his letter to Bardas. It could not be pleasant to think of the doubtful relations in which he must place himself, if, under these circumstances, he assumed a dignity which rightfully belonged to another, nor of the necessity of espousing the cause of the all-powerful, vicious Bardas, whose character must have been thoroughly known to him.* Hence it may well be, that he assumed the elevated post with a heavy heart. When he resolved to do so, he probably hoped that Ignatius might be persuaded to abdicate voluntarily, in which case he may have intended to keep his oath to the Metropolitans, who had made him swear, as the only condition on which they would recognize him as patriarch, that he would honour Ignatius like a father.† But by none of the entreaties, arguments, threats, insults, or abuse which the cruel Bardas employed, could Ignatius be induced to sign the abdication. Unwavering in faith, conscious of innocence,

* Photius says, in a letter already cited, that the prospect of the evils which had now actually befallen him, filled him with distress and anxiety: 'Ἡ ἐλπὶς καὶ ἡ προσδοκία (τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν) συνεστάρμασέ με τότε καὶ σύνεσχεν.

† See the Life of Ignatius, fol. 962; though the statement that he also pledged himself to act in all respects according to the will of Ignatius, was probably an exaggeration.

certain of his rights, he would surrender nothing to force. Bardas next sought to compel the adherents of Ignatius to recognize Photius by resorting to the ordinary measures of Byzantine despotism. They were imprisoned, deprived of their goods, scourged; their tongues were cut out. The odium of all these cruel measures lighted upon Photius, and upon him they are charged by Nicetas the biographer of Ignatius. Yet it is evident, from letters of Photius to Bardas and to other nobles, which are still extant, that he was sorely vexed and troubled by the whole of these proceedings, and took unwearied pains to shield the unfortunate victims, but that his efforts availed nothing in opposition to the arbitrary will of Bardas.* He declared that it was his intention to retire to the solitary life, if the priestly office must be insulted in the persons of the adherents of Ignatius, and he could do nothing to assist the unfortunate men.† But the ambition or the weakness of character by which Photius was led, though not without a struggle, to accept of an office conferred on him in so informal a manner and with such accompaniments, was here suffering its natural punishment. He must allow things to be done which he could not prevent, indeed, but which a Chrysostom would never have suffered to go unpunished. The worthless Michael, released from all restraints, and abandoned to the wantonness of his self-will, made sport of everything serious. His favourites, those who consented to descend to his buffooneries, were made to play the parts of priests and bishops in the clerical attire. He made a mock-patriarch of his Protospatharius, Theophilus. Theophilus, he said, was his patriarch, Ignatius the patriarch of the devout ones, and Photius the patriarch of Bardas. By his direction, all the sacred rites of worship were profanely celebrated, with much pomp and at great expense, by these people.‡

* So he writes in the above-mentioned letter to Bardas: ὅτε γὰρ ἱερεῖς, ὁποῖοι ἂν καὶ εἴην, ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπὶ ἐνὶ πταίσματι (without doubt their attachment to Ignatius) πάσχοντας ὁρῶ, τυπτομένους, δημιευομένους, τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκτεμνομένους, πῶς οὐ μακαρίσω τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ὑπὲρ ἐμέ.

† See l. c. He complains (ep. III. ad Bardem) very bitterly, that shame and execration had fallen upon him on account of what the clergy were obliged to suffer under him and for his sake. He vehemently declaims against cruel punishments generally in ep. 22 to a protospatharius.

‡ See the Life of Ignatius, Harduin. V. f. 974, and Constantin. Por-

When it was found that Ignatius could neither be persuaded nor forced to sign his abdication, one act of injustice led on to another. With a view to maintain his position under some show of right, Photius assembled a synod at Constantinople, in the year 859,* which pronounced sentence of deposition and condemnation on the absent Ignatius. Still as the party of Ignatius did not acknowledge the synod to be a legitimate tribunal, he could not materially better his situation in this way; while the resistance of the clergy to the decrees of this synod furnished an occasion for Bardas to renew his despotic measures. Photius determined, therefore, to resort to another expedient. He endeavoured to gain a party to his cause which would be respected even by his opponents, and which, unless gained by himself, might easily be won over to the other side. He endeavoured to secure the suffrage of the pope, and of a synod assembled with his concurrence and that of the other patriarchs. If he was not beforehand with his opponents in doing this, he had reason to fear that these, following the example of persecuted parties in the Greek church, would find sympathy and a place of refuge in Rome. The emperor Michael and Photius applied at once by letters to pope Nicholas I. Touching the true state of affairs, nothing was said to him; but the after-effects of the

phyrogenet. Continuat. l. IV. c. 38. At the council held by the party opposed to Photius at Constantinople, in the year 869, the Roman legates declared they had heard that senators at Constantinople had profanely clad themselves in spiritual vestments, and played the part of bishops. The *ἄνδρες ἀξιωματικοὶ*, who had taken these liberties, were introduced, and being called to account, said they had done it at the command of the emperor, whom they were bound to obey—an excuse which evidenced their own meanness, and the vile corruption which followed in the train of despotism. *Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς παιγνίδια ἱποίει, ἐπιθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι ἱποιοῦμεν τὰ προστεταγμένα.* Harduin. V. f. 1095. Now Nicetas reproaches Photius with having suffered all this to be done under his own eyes, and without saying a word against it. Yet how did he know this? His saying so certainly cannot be considered sufficient evidence. At that council Photius' enemies eagerly raked up everything they could find against him. Those noble buffoons were asked whether Photius had seen this; they dared not say that he had; but they only observed that the thing was generally known.

* Its transactions have not come down to us, for they were burnt at the fourth general council of Constantinople in 869, hereafter to be noticed. Vide Harduin. V. fol. 875.

image-controversies were held forth as a pretext for seeking aid and co-operation from the church of Rome.* It was barely mentioned that Ignatius had retired from his office, and that thereby a new appointment to the patriarchate had become necessary. Photius described with fulsome exaggeration, in language that betrayed its own insincerity, how he had from the first looked upon the episcopal dignity as one too arduous and responsible for him to assume, and how he had been forced to undertake the weighty charge in spite of himself; how the emperor, who was otherwise so kind, just, and indulgent to his subjects, surpassing in these respects all his ancestors, had been hard-hearted and violent towards him alone! Such language was by no means calculated to inspire confidence in the more simple heart of Nicholas; perhaps too he may have been informed by friends of Ignatius, who had come from the East, as to the true state of affairs. He acted in this case according to the same principles, and in the same character, which we have seen him exhibit in other relations. He did not mean to be used as an instrument for promoting the ends of other men. He was solicitous only for the triumph of right; and to secure this, he was ever ready to employ the power of church government, which he was convinced that he had received from God. He was not satisfied with expressions of honour and respect; but he required a full recognition of the ecclesiastical authority belonging to him, as the successor of St. Peter, according to the laws of the church; that is, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, to which indeed he here appeals—an authority which, in cases of this sort, he supposed he might exercise in the East. In the year 860 he sent Rhodold bishop of Porto, and Zacharias bishop of Anagni, as his legates to Constantinople, with letters in reply to those of the emperor and of the patriarch. To Photius he wrote briefly, expressing himself satisfied with the manner in which he had expressed his orthodoxy in his letter, but expressing at the same time the most decided disapprobation of the informal manner in which he, a layman, had been so suddenly

* In the false and bombastic letter of Photius, of which Baronius, at year 859, N. 61, has published a Latin translation, nothing is said about this; but it is clear from the Life of Ignatius by Nicetas, and from the pope's letter to the emperor Michael, that this was made use of as a pretext.

transferred from secular employments to the highest spiritual dignity ; and declaring that he could not recognize him in that office till the matter had been more carefully investigated by his legates. To the emperor he wrote more at length, censuring the course of proceeding whereby, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws,* it had been presumed without the concurrence of the pope, to hold a council at Constantinople, and depose Ignatius ; expressing the same scruples as he had done in the letter to Photius himself, respecting the legality of his election, and reserving his own decision on the whole matter until after the investigation of it by his legates.

At Constantinople, however, but little concern was felt about what the pope had written ; men imagined they could still outwit him, and make good use of his name in furthering the designs of the court. Indeed, it not seldom happened—a proof of the corruption which even then prevailed among the higher orders of the Roman clergy—that the pope was deceived in his legates ; they abused his confidence and consented to be bribed. So it happened in the present case. The legates were gained over by gifts. They were prevented also for a long time from holding intercourse with others, and so made dependent on the influence of one party.† True, they at first held fast to their instructions, in opposition to the arbitrary procedure of the court party ; but very soon they began to yield a little.‡ In the year 861 a numerous synod was held in presence of the emperor, under the direction of Photius, and with the concurrence of the papal legates. • The letter of the pope to the emperor Michael was here read in a Greek translation, in which, however, liberty had been taken to alter its contents so as to make them harmonize with the interest of the Greek church, which could not acknowledge the spiritual power assumed by Nicholas in that letter, and with the in-

* The same principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which he had introduced into the Western church.

† The pope says this in his letter to Photius. Touching his legates, he says : *Qui cum iis per centum dierum spatia omnium nisi suorum alloquendi facultas fuisset denegata, ut apostolicæ sedis missi non digne suscepti sunt.* Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 136.

‡ This is the very thing which the pope reproached them with : *Quid enim proderit alicui pro veritate primum quidem impetum dare et post paululum aut suasionibus aut terroribus aut alio quolibet vitio a veritatis tramite declinare ?* Harduin Concil. T. V. f. 179.

terest of the party of Photius.* Ignatius was summoned to appear before this council. He sent to ask, in what character he should appear: whether in his episcopal dignity, as a person on whom sentence was to be passed, or in the monkish garb, as one already condemned.† They answered him, "Appear as you deserve to appear."‡ Interpreting this by the verdict of his own conscience, Ignatius appeared in full episcopal robes; but the emperor ordered that, before he entered the hall of the assembly, he should be compelled to divest himself of the episcopal attire. He was obliged to leave behind the numerous train of friends who escorted him, and to appear alone. He was received by the emperor with abusive language. To this he calmly replied: Abuse can be borne still more easily than torture. This silenced the emperor, who pointed him to a wooden bench where he might be permitted to sit. Ignatius then turned to the papal legates, being willing to acknowledge the pope as his judge: but they neglected to act according to their instructions. Ignatius demanded of them, that they should direct the man to be withdrawn from the council who had unlawfully put himself at the head of his church. The legates replied that they had no power to do this; and pointing to the emperor, said: It was the will of the sovereign. He insisted then that, under these circumstances, he could not recognize the legates as his judges. He said to their face, that before they had reached Constantinople Photius had sent out presents to meet them.§ They might take him with them to the pope, for he would gladly acknowledge the latter as his judge. In vain was it attempted once

* The pope, in his letters written to Constantinople, points out these falsifications of his letter to the emperor; and in reference to this fashion of falsifying, he remarks: Quoniam apud Græcos, sicut nonnullæ diversæ temporis scripturæ testantur, familiaris est ista temeritas; l. c. f. 130, and appealing to an older letter of pope Hadrian, which ought to be found in the public archives at Constantinople, he adds: Si tamen non falsata Græcorum more. l. c. f. 147.

† See the report of Ignatius himself, l. c. f. 1014. The biography of Nicetas, f. 966.

‡ "Οτι ὡς ἔστε ἄλλοι.

§ His words: Τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ μικροῦ ἐδέξασθε κατὰ γὰρ τὴν 'Ραϊδέστον (the ancient Bisanthe in Thrace, on the Propontis, Rodosto) ὑμῖν, αὐτὰ ἀπηντήκασιν, ἱμάτιά τε καὶ φιλώνια καὶ ἐγκόλπια. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1015.

and again to induce this inflexible man, whose spirit no misfortunes could subdue, and who by his calm and steadfast self-possession, put to shame the ruling authorities, who were unable by force or craft to conquer his will; in vain was it attempted to induce him to make a voluntary abdication. To prepare the way for passing on him the sentence of deposition, they now made use of the argument, that he had been unlawfully placed in that office by the secular power; and this was confirmed on oath, not only by nobles of the spiritual and secular order, but also by a crowd of other people—fishmongers, farriers, shoemakers, and tailors—accompanied by the signature of their names. These all acknowledged Photius to be their patriarch.* Ignatius, however, could appeal to the fact that he had administered the office for twelve years in perfect harmony with the bishops and the flock, and without a single complaint having ever been brought against him. Threats, rigorous imprisonment, hunger and blows, ill-treatment of every kind, were employed against him in vain, to force him to subscribe the sentence of deposition.† If the account given by Nicetas is correct, they finally seized his hand, and compelled him to sign, with the affixture of a cross, the sentence pronounced upon him. It was then published abroad that Ignatius had, by a general church assembly held with the concurrence of pope Nicholas, been regularly deposed from his office, and Photius acknowledged as lawful patriarch. The acts of this council were speedily transmitted to the pope by an imperial embassy, which bore a letter from the emperor, and another from the patriarch Photius.

As to the latter, he replied to the before-mentioned short letter of the pope, a letter certainly composed in a tone with which as patriarch of Constantinople he had every reason to be dissatisfied, in so mild and courteous a manner, that it is easy to discern from it the strong interest he felt to obtain from the pope his approbation of what had been done, and how, with a conscience ill at ease, he was driven to attempt by crooked measures to secure an object which he could not reach by a straightforward course. He excused himself in

* See Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1086, and f. 1096.

† Ignatius himself relates: "Ὅσας μοι τότε πληγὰς ἐπέθεντο, τί χρὴ λέγειν; ἐν ἑπτα γὰρ οὕτω κολασθέντα ἡμέραις ἄσιτον, ἀϋπνον, ἀκάθιστον διαμῆναι βίασαν."

reference to his assumption of the patriarchal dignity by pleading compulsion; he portrayed the contrast between the harassing and anxious situation in which he found himself placed as patriarch; and the peaceful, quiet, and happy situation, in literary leisure and the enjoyment of universal esteem, which had been his lot before, as evidence beyond question that it could not have been his own wish or voluntary choice to exchange these situations. He defended himself from the reproaches thrown upon him by the pope, by pleading that the transgression of ecclesiastical laws, not known in Constantinople (by which doubtless he meant, in part, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals cited by the pope in his letter to the emperor), could not properly be charged as a crime against him. And he showed that it could not be referred to the diversity of ecclesiastical laws and ecclesiastical usages which prevailed in different countries; among these he reckoned many differences existing betwixt the Greek and the Latin church, to which, therefore, he seems as yet to have attached no very great importance. But finally, he demanded of the pope that he also should observe the ecclesiastical law in one respect, and not receive into the Romish church, without further examination, those who came thither without the customary credentials* from their ecclesiastical superiors, inasmuch as by such people calumnious reports were circulated, and schisms occasioned. There can be no doubt that Photius here had in his mind the friends of Ignatius, whose reports at Rome he would naturally dread; but at the same time he could assign as a better reason for this warning an abuse, which could justly be complained of, namely, the fact that many, who had reason to apprehend civil and ecclesiastical punishments on account of their crimes at home, took refuge in Rome under the pretence of devotion,† and in the character of pilgrims.‡ The party of Ignatius had also sent delegates

* Γράμματα συστατικά.

† See above, page 151.

‡ The remarkable words are: *Alii aliena conjugia perfoderunt, alii furti damnati sunt, aut vinolentia se propinarunt, aut lasciviae, libidini et intemperantiae servierunt, alii vero tenuiorum hominum percussores, et homicidae deprehensi sunt, qui cum in se ipsos jus emitti persentiscunt, simul omnia miscentes ac conturbantes, flagitiorum ac facinorum suorum poenas fuga amoliuntur, nec objurgationibus castigati nec suppliciis curati*

to Rome; others came there as fugitives, to escape the ill treatment with which they were threatened, and it was precisely the influence of these men which Photius dreaded. Theognist, an abbot, brought an appeal, drawn up in the name of Ignatius and of the bishops and monks united with him, and preceded by a report of everything that had transpired.* Nicholas, therefore, could not be deceived by the imperial embassy and the reports which they brought with them; and besides, he was observant and politic enough to see through the fraudulent and violent proceedings of that council at Constantinople. Even in his first letters to Photius and to the emperor, he professed himself dissatisfied with those proceedings; even then he complained of the manner in which his legates had acted, and in which his letters had been falsified; even then he expressed himself strongly in favour of Ignatius. He repeated those doubts which he had previously expressed respecting the election of Photius, and endeavoured to refute what the latter had said in justification of the irregularity.† But after he had entered into a more strict examination of the matter, and found that his legates had been guilty of bribery, and of violating his instructions, he pronounced on the latter, at a Roman synod held in 863, the sentence of deposition.‡ At the same assembly, he declared that Photius had forfeited every spiritual dignity, pronounced against him the anathema in case he should hold the patriarchal office any longer, and recognized Ignatius as the

nec se a lapsu erigentes, sed sibi atque aliis usque perniciosi. Habent pœnæ effugium, Romam sub orationis obtentu proficisci. The letter translated into Latin has been published by Baronius, at the year 861, N. 34.

* The libellus, which Harduin has published, T. V. f. 1013.

† Nicholas assumed that the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals actually proceeded from the first Roman bishops, and therefore ought to be known and to be held valid throughout the whole church; hence he made it a crime in Photius not to be acquainted with them. *Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate a que sanctione omnes synodi et sancta concilia roborantur et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis? Nisi quia vestræ ordinationi contradicunt.* And next: *Quodsi ea non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi. Si habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi.* Harduin. V. f. 135.

‡ At first, only on the bishop Zacharias. The examination into the charges against bishop Rodoald was adjourned on account of his absence.

lawful patriarch of Constantinople. After the pope had sent these decrees to Constantinople, there arose from them in the first place a fierce correspondence by letters between him and the emperor Michael. The latter sent the pope a letter filled with the most violent abuse.* He wrote him that he might look upon it as an honour, that after the lapse of so many years recourse had finally been had once more from Constantinople to Rome on a matter of business; this had been done, however, by no means under the understanding that the pope was to be recognized as a judge. Photius would retain his office and remain in the fellowship of the church even without the concurrence of the pope; and the pope's interference would not help Ignatius. He called the Latins barbarians,† Scythians; Rome an antiquated city. Nicholas, in the feeling of his superiority, replied to this letter with dignity and forbearance.‡ He reproached the emperor with having taken part himself in the deliberations of the bishops at the council, and with having made use of the latter as his instruments. When had emperors ever before assisted at synods, unless it may have been, perhaps, when matters of faith were in discussion, matters which to be sure concerned not merely ecclesiastics, but also laymen, nay, all Christians?§ Before Christ's appearance, many kings had, in typical allusion to

* The letter itself has not come down to us; but from the pope's answers, especially ep. 7. Harduin. V. f. 145, we may infer what were its contents.

† Photius was an enemy to the Occidentals. In his ep. 84, which certainly cannot be considered as referring to Sicily alone, he loads them with undeserved reproaches. In the condition of paganism, they had already evidenced their rudeness by the fact that they had no Ἡφαίστος κλυτοτέχνης, πο λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, none of the deities, who were conceived as patrons of the arts and virtues. Accordingly, he writes to a monk who had come from the West: οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ σὺ τὸ γένος ἑλκων ἐξ ἰσπερίας, οὐδὲν οὐτι σώφρον λέγειν ἔχεις, οὐτι διαπράττεσθαι.

‡ The letters of this eminent man on weighty affairs, all possess the same common character, not merely in relation to the principles expressed, but also in turn of thought, tone, and style. Perhaps the spirit of Nicholas himself is more clearly discernible in them, than the pen of his secretary. The scrinariî Romanæ ecclesiæ had only the mechanical work of writing the letters, either after a draft or by dictation, as we may learn from ep. 3. Harduin. V. f. 164.

§ De fide quæ universalis est, quæ omnium communis est, quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos.

the future, been at the same time priests, as for example Melchizedek; and as Satan is ever wont to counterfeit the divine, he had led the pagan emperors with their usurping spirit to call themselves pontifices maximos. But after the appearance of Christ, who is at once king and priest, the two dignities were absolutely separated in human relations. The emperor wrote that he had *commanded* the pope to send delegates to Constantinople. Nicholas reminds him that such was not the tone in which it became him to write to the pope.* In allusion to what the emperor had said respecting the barbarism of the Latin tongue, the pope replied: Your abuse of the Latin tongue falls on Him from whom all languages have sprung; for this language was one of those which acknowledged that Jesus is Lord to the glory of God the Father,—which was distinguished along with the Hebrew and the Greek above all others by being used in the inscription on the cross, proclaiming to all nations Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews. As the Latin language worshipped the true God, it was clear, he said, that it could not be termed a barbarian language. Or if he called the Latin tongue barbarian merely because he did not understand it, he should consider how ridiculous it was for a man to style himself Imperator Romanorum, and yet know nothing about the language of the people.† The pope indignantly repels the unreasonable demand of the emperor, that he should send back Theognist and other monks, who had taken refuge in Rome, to Constantinople, in order, as he expresses it, that they might there be made the victims of imperial vengeance. By so doing he would put himself on a level with the traitor Judas, would violate those sacred laws which were held in respect even among pagans. And he speaks here, as ever, in the consciousness of the high destination of the new Christian capital of the world, where thousands daily congregated from all

* Illi (piores imperatores) petimus, invitamus ac rogamus, ecce sparsim ad sedis apostolicæ præsules, sed pari pietate clamant. Vos autem quasi non mansuetudinis et reverentiæ, sed solius imperii eorum hæredes effectum præcepisse, jussisse ac imperasse vos, ut quosdam subjectorum nostrorum ad vos mitteremus asseritis.

† Quiescite vos nuncupare Romanos imperatores, quoniam secundum vestram sententiam barbari sunt, quorum vos imperatores asseritis.

nations seeking protection and quiet for the last days of life.*

Photius attempted to pay the pope measure for measure. He pronounced, at a pretended general assembly held at Constantinople in 867, sentence of deposition and the anathema on his opponent. Such a step, to be sure, on the part of Photius, could not by any means occasion the same injury to Nicholas which a similar sentence on the part of the pope must cause to Photius, especially in the fluctuating, uncertain situation in which the latter found himself placed in the East. But of far greater importance was another step of Photius, immediately connected with the first. In a circular letter, addressed to all the more eminent bishops of the East,† inviting them to take part in this council, he made an attack, which was aimed at the entire Latin church. He accused the Romish church of having propagated among the new Christians of Bulgaria erroneous doctrines. He referred particularly to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, to the principle of the celibacy of priests, to fasting on the Sabbath, and to the number of fasting weeks. Diversities, on which he had before expressed himself with so much moderation, now acquired for him, when they could be seized upon as an occasion for charging his opponent with heresy, the greatest importance. Thus the quarrel was turned from a personal one into a controversy betwixt the two churches.

This was the view taken of it by Nicholas; and he recommended to the eminent bishops the defence of the Roman church against these charges. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie, and the bishop Æneas of Paris, obeyed this invitation, and wrote in defence of the Latin church.‡ The writing of Ratramnus is the most important.§ He distinguished himself particularly by the Christian moderation and liberality of spirit

* Tanta millia hominum protectioni ac intercessioni beati apostolorum principis Petri ex omnibus finibus terræ properantium sese quotidie conferunt et usque in finem vitæ suæ apud ejus limina semetmansura proponunt.

† Ep. II.

‡ Both works published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his *Spicilegia*.

§ *Contra Græcorum opposita Romanam ecclesiam informantium*, libri IV.

which he shows in judging of the importance of the differences which related merely to church customs. He declared that it was only important to hold fast the unity of the faith. To the unity of the faith belonged simply what the apostle Paul indicates in 1 Corinth. i. 10; and to this unity he reckoned faith in the Trinity, in the birth of Christ from a virgin, in his sufferings, his resurrection, his ascension to heaven, his exaltation to the right hand of God, his coming to judge the living and the dead, and baptism into the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. By no means requisite to this unity was uniformity in church usages, and other external things; and hence, in the first chapters of his fourth book, he endeavours to show that from the first origin of the church downward, diversity of usage, in regard to such matters, had been found perfectly consistent with unity in the faith. He censures the Greeks in this regard only, because, instead of being satisfied to observe their own peculiar usages themselves, they would prescribe the observance of them also on others.*

Soon after the first outbreak of this open schism between the two churches, a political change took place, by which, for the present, a reconciliation was effected. First Bardas, and then Michael, met the punishment which their crimes deserved; and Michael's co-regent, Basilus, the Macedonian, who had contrived his destruction, attained, in the year 867, to the sole sovereignty of the Greek empire. He had political reasons for becoming reconciled again with the party of Ignatius and with the popes;† and Ignatius was restored to the patriarchal

* Cum nihil de dogmate fidei contineant, in quo Christianitatis plenitudo consistit, verum consuetudinem suæ ecclesiæ enarrent, nihil isthinc vel approbandum vel refutandum nostræ restabat ecclesiæ.

† We would gladly believe, for the honour of Photius, what not only Zonaras reports in his Annals, but the earlier writers, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, relate, that he was deposed by Basilus on account of his refusal to admit him, on a certain festival, to the communion, because he was a murderer. This account may, perhaps, be entitled to more faith because it is given by persons who show an unfavourable disposition towards Photius. It was, of course, against the party interest of the passionate Nicetas, to record a fact which redounded to the honour of Photius; it was more in accordance with his interest to represent the matter as if Basilus had been induced, by the justice of the case, to depose Photius the very next day after he assumed the reins of government. Nor could Constantine Porphyrogenita, who would be unwilling to represent his grandfather as a murderer, mention this in his account

dignity. It was now necessary that a new council should be held at Constantinople, with the concurrence of the other

of his life. The express testimony of Nicetas, that Basilius, the very next day after he assumed the reins of government, deposed Photius, cannot prevent us from considering the above story to be true; for this chronological date, the origin of which admits of being so easily explained, from the party interest of Nicetas, is at variance not only with the date which may be inferred from the narrative of Anastasius, but also with the testimony of Simeon Magister, that Basilius had his son Stephen baptized by the patriarch Photius on Christmas-day; therefore, some months after he had attained to the sole dominion. The bitterness with which Basilius persecuted Photius, with whom he had before been on very amicable terms, strongly favours the supposition, that besides those general reasons which the party of Ignatius supplied to his hands, he had other and more special causes for his enmity against the patriarch. At the same time, the question comes up, whether we might expect from the character of Photius, and from his conduct on other occasions,—a man who, as his letters show, flattered the worthless Michael in the midst of his vices, who had already good occasion for proceeding in the same way towards Michael and Bardas, and had not done so,—whether from the character and conduct of Photius on other occasions we might expect from him any such step? Especially is it to be noticed, that the mode in which Photius states his complaints before this emperor, touching the persecutions of which he was the innocent victim, contains no hint of any such cause of them, but rather seems to suppose the contrary. He reminds the emperor (ep. 97) of their former friendship, of the many ties by which he was bound to him; and then also, that the emperor had received from his hands the holy eucharist, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶ προσιῶν τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἀχρεάντων μέτειχες μυστηρίων. How, on the supposition of the truth of that story, could Photius have expressed himself in this manner without immediately taking notice of the fact, and justifying himself *on the ground*, that it was just because he had excluded the emperor from the Holy Supper that he had drawn down on himself the emperor's displeasure? In general, he assumes that the emperor had no cause whatever for being *personally* dissatisfied with him. M. Hanke, it is true, in his work *De Byzantinarum rerum Scriptoribus Græcis*, thinks he has discovered a secret intimation that such was the cause of the persecution against Photius, in a letter of his (ep. 118. f. 160 ed. Montaut.), where he gives the following as the reason of the imperial anger against the faithful, *i.e.* the adherents of Photius: ἀνθ' ὧν αἱμάτων καθαῶς καὶ γλώσσας καὶ γνώμης ἐφύλαξαν. This, as Hanke supposes, refers to the fact and manner in which they had protested against that murder; but in the swollen language of these times, we can hardly interpret "blood" as referring to a real murder, but must refer it to a spiritual one, *viz.* the anathema pronounced on Photius by the council. The meaning is; They are persecuted, because they did not, with heart and mouth, join in the anathema pronounced against him. This, too, is in better harmony with the context in which that passage occurs. We might, with more probability, discover a secret allusion of this kind in

patriarchs, and especially of the pope, in order to annul the decrees of the earlier council, and to crush the party devoted to Photius. The new emperor and the reinstated patriarch, applied for this purpose to pope Nicholas; and Ignatius, in his letter, recognized the supreme judicial authority of the cathedra Petri, in terms never used by Constantinopolitan patriarchs, except on rare occasions and under particular circumstances, like the present. Pope Nicholas, meantime, had died; his successor, Hadrian, held, in 868, a council at Rome, where sentence of deposition and the anathema were pronounced anew on Photius, and Ignatius was recognized as patriarch. After these preliminary steps, a council was held in the following year, 869, at Constantinople, in presence of the emperor, with the concurrence of the papal legates, which was to represent the eighth among the ecumenical councils, and, as such, to make known the decrees of the Roman assembly as legally valid for the Greek church. By this council, an inquiry was instituted into everything that had been done before. Rodoald and Zacharias,* who meantime had been restored to favour, were sent to Constantinople, for the express purpose of exposing the wicked arts which had been resorted to in the earlier proceedings against Ignatius, and to be used as witnesses.† True, even this council was not exempt from the common faults of the Greek church assemblies; but at least matters were conducted after a more decent fashion than they seem to have been at the last council of Constantinople. Yet the same scenes were here in great part repeated over again, of faithless tergiversation, of disregard to sacred promises and oaths, in a word, all the superficial conversions of a political revolution. Many of the bishops and clergy who,

the words of the 98th letter to Basilius, a slight hint, that Photius had not suffered himself to be induced to present the eucharist to Basilius; *ἀλλ' ὅρα φίλε καὶ μὴ βούλει, Βασιλεῦ ὅτι τὸ πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν ἀνθρώπους οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν συντέλει πρὸς τὸ πείσαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸναντίον περιτρέπεται.* (Though he succeeded in persuading a man to admit him to the communion, yet he could not thereby obtain the divine forgiveness, but the unworthy partaking of the sacrament would only redound to his greater guilt in the sight of God.) *καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐνταῦθα πραττομένων μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐκείθεν ἢ παντίφορος δίκη κριτής.* But according to the connection, these words, perhaps, refer rather to the emperor's persecutions of Photius himself.

* See above, p. 305.

† See Concil. VIII. act. Harduin. f. 1095.

during the former reign, had attached themselves to Photius, appeared before the council, and with abusive language towards Photius declared that they had been compelled by fear to act contrary to their convictions. They testified their repentance, submitted to penance,* and then pardon was granted to them. The bishops who declared their repentance were permitted at once to resume their episcopal insignia,† and to take their seats in the assembly. The priests were to be suspended from their functions until the term of their penance had expired.‡ Yet there were some few bishops, of the number consecrated by Photius, not quite mean enough to abandon him in misfortune, who ventured to appear before the assembled council to defend his cause against the emperor and the Roman legates, and who chose rather to suffer themselves to be deposed and condemned than to abandon their friend. Archbishop Zacharias of Chalcedon, who had been appointed to that station by Photius, declared, in the name of his party, that even the decision of the patriarchs could avail nothing against the ecclesiastical laws. If the patriarchs decided contrary to the laws of the church, they ought not to be followed.§ And he cited examples, remarking that he could cite still others, to show that decisions of the Roman bishops had been rejected, as contradictory to the ecclesiastical laws. He, moreover, defended the validity of Photius' election, when a layman, by older examples.|| John, bishop of Heraclea,¶ when the question was put to the bishops of Photius' party,

* Certain abstinences, prostrations, the recitation of a certain number of forms of prayer till the next Christmas, were imposed on them.

† An example of that mawkish play on sacred language, truly calculated to desecrate what is most holy, which the sanctimonious cant, growing out of the debasing spirit of insincerity in the Greek church, at that time indulged in, is furnished by the patriarch Ignatius, who, in restoring the *ῥωμοφόριον* to Theodore of Caria, one of Photius' bishops, addressed him as follows: "Behold, thou art become sound; sin no more, lest a worse evil befall thee!"

‡ Harduin. V. f. 1035. Nicetas expresses himself dissatisfied with this, as it seemed to him, excessive gentleness of the council, and finds in it the ground of the renewed evils at a later period; for men who found repentance so easy, and still retained their offices, would be very sure, in a change of circumstances, to play their old tricks over again.

§ Οἱ κανόνες ἀρχοῦσι καὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν, εἰ γοῦν ἕξω τῶν κανόνων ποίησιν, οὐ στοιχοῦμεν αὐτοῖς.

|| Act VI. f. 1058.

¶ In the seventh action, VI. f. 1066.

whether they condemned Photius, and acknowledged Ignatius as patriarch, exclaimed: "He himself is condemned who condemns his patriarch." Photius behaved with dignity. Being called upon* to appear before the council, and answer for himself, he declared that he was resolved to be silent, quoting Ps. xxxix. 1, "I will keep my mouth with a bridle while the wicked is before me." He appeared finally in the fifth action of the council, declaring that he did it not voluntarily, but under constraint; but he persisted even then in his silence, and when called upon to say what he had to offer in justification of himself, replied: "My justification is not in this world." It was in vain he was allowed a time for reflection; in vain he was again brought before the council in the seventh action; he remained firm to the end.

Moreover, those of the higher and lower class, who at the last synod had appeared as witnesses against Ignatius, and affirmed on their oath that he had attained to his office not by regular election, but by means of the secular power, were heard again, and now declared their former testimony to be false. Theodore the protospatharius,† said he was forced to swear by fear of the emperor—he could not do otherwise than as he was bidden; but he had confessed his sin to a monk (a Stylite) who had passed forty years on a pillar, and submitted to the penance prescribed by him, which he had been observing to the present time. A like declaration was made by the consul Leo, and he was ready to submit to all the decisions of the synod. Only in the anathema pronounced on Photius he thought he could not concur, because the anathema could only touch false teachers, and Photius was an orthodox man. But the representatives of the patriarchs said that no false doctrine could be worse than the actions of Photius; whereupon he submitted in this point also to the judgment of the synod.

But notwithstanding all the emphasis and solemnity ‡ with

* Not by ecclesiastics sent to him, but by laymen.

† See p. 301.

‡ If we may credit the report of Nicetas, the members of this council were so far carried away by their blind passions, that to give the more solemnity to the sentence of deposition and of condemnation pronounced on Photius, they dipped the pen with which they subscribed it not only in ink, but in the wine of the eucharist; οὐ ψίλω τῷ μέλανι τὰ χειρόγραφα ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικκδέστατον ὡς τῷ εἰδότην ἀκήκοα διαθεσαιομένον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὸν κάλαμον. l. c. V. f. 987. But this,

which the anathema was pronounced by the whole assembly against Photius, he still felt strong enough to defy that terrible word—a word lightly used in the Greek church under every change of court parties, and which, within the course of a few years, had been applied in the most opposite cases. By the true account which Photius gives in his letters of the use made of the anathema in the Greek church,* he at the same time condemns himself. In his misfortunes, Photius evinces greater dignity than in his prosperity. Separated from the society of his friends, no clergyman or monk being permitted to come near him, to pray or to sing with him, he saw no one but his keepers. He was sick thirty days without being allowed to see a physician; and what to him was the most terrible punishment of all, he was deprived of his books.† Yet his constancy was not overcome; he contented himself with simply representing to those in power the injustice and unnecessary rigour of their proceedings.

notwithstanding the evidence adduced by Nicetas, which we must say is very weak, may be a mere fable, dictated by the strong interest which was felt to make this sentence on Photius an irreversible one, and to deter all men for ever after from espousing his party. “What can be more sacred—it was said—the sentence against him was subscribed with the very blood of Christ.”

* He says, ep. 113, that though a long time before a synod had pronounced the anathema on him, on his father, and on his uncle (see above p. 300) yet contrary to his own will he had been made patriarch; and so now those who in like manner despised the commandments of the Lord, might anathematize him. And in ep. 115, he says, concerning the manner in which the anathema was employed: Τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο εἰς μύθους καὶ παίγνια μεταπέπτακε, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι καὶ αἰρετὸν παρῆσκειν. An unjust anathema, he said, fell on the person who pronounced it, and honoured him on whom it was wrongly pronounced.

† See ep. 85, 97, 114. Each of the ecclesiastical and political parties in Constantinople was accustomed to interpret an earthquake, though no unfrequent occurrence there, as a sign of the divine anger on account of some particular thing, which they determined to be this or that, according to *their own* interests or passions, and the last was ever regarded as more terrible than any which had preceded. Now as an earthquake which followed the deposition of Ignatius (see Nicetas, f. 975, l. c.) had been interpreted by *his* party conformably to *their* interest; so now again, an earthquake which occurred after the deposition of Photius, was interpreted by *his* party in their favour. See Phot. ep. 101. But he himself did not fall in with this—he did not attach so much importance to himself personally, nor did he wish to triumph where so many others suffered who were entitled to his sympathy.

Thus the first schism, the schism which had grown out of the quarrel between Photius and Nicholas, was healed; but the more inward antagonism between the two churches, which had once found vent by means of that schism excited from without, still endured, though for the present it did not openly break out. And another cause of the quarrel, a cause which had not been removed, threatened once more to destroy the fellowship between the two churches, which had but recently been restored,—the contested question, whether Bulgaria should belong to the province of the Latin or of the Greek church. As we have said on a former page, the Greek church, during the reign of the emperor Basilius the Macedonian, succeeded in re-establishing their influence among the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian church obtained their bishops from Constantinople; and as Ignatius paid no regard to the representations of pope John VIII., the rupture threatened to become converted into a new and violent division. But just as the way was prepared for this, Ignatius died, A.D. 878; and the very thing which under other circumstances must have seemed most dangerous to the peace between the two churches—that the man by whom the schism was first occasioned should prove to be his successor, served to bring about a reunion of the two parties.

The emperor Basilius, a patron of learning, ever entertained the highest respect for Photius, who was at that time the most learned man among the Greeks. In a very short time, therefore, he opened the way for a complete reconciliation, recalled the banished man to Constantinople, showed him special favour, and made him teacher of his son.* It may be said

* The remark of Constantine Porphyrogenita, in his account of the life of his grandfather Basilius (c. 44), that the latter, although he removed Photius from his station on just grounds, yet never ceased to show kindness to him, is certainly proved to be without foundation by the above cited passages from Photius' letters; but it would not be inconsistent with these passages to suppose that Photius' relation to the emperor was at a later period such as that historian describes. And that this was really so, is corroborated by the testimony of Photius himself, where he gives his statement of the whole matter in the second action of the synod of Constantinople of the year 879. Harduin. VI. P. I. f. 255. He here calls the council to witness, that he submitted to his fate—and it is evident that he did so from his letters—that he showed no solicitude to recover the patriarchal dignity, resorted to no machinations with a view to repossess himself of what he had lost, but that the emperor of

to the honour of both Ignatius and Photius, that they were not carried away with the passions of their respective partizans, but became heartily reconciled to each other. Photius repelled every proposition by which he was invited to put himself at the head of a party against Ignatius, and Ignatius was a stranger to all suspicion against Photius. They lived together on the most friendly terms, and Photius manifested an amiable sympathy for Ignatius in his last sickness.* Ignatius, when dying, commended his rival to the favour of his friends.

Under these circumstances, it might naturally occur to the emperor, that it would be good policy to restore Photius to the office he had once held. The peaceably disposed man who had maintained such friendly relations with his rival might prove the fittest instrument for effecting a radical healing of the division, and a perfect reconciliation between the two parties. But a difficulty stood in the way; for it was to the emperor's interest that no new schism should be suffered to spring up betwixt the Latin and the Greek church; nor was it possible indeed without the concurrence of the pope to restore peace within the Greek church itself with a sure prospect of permanent success. For though the tone of the court at Constantinople always had an influence on the ecclesiastical parties, and though, by the preceding reconciliation between the two heads of the parties and by the death of Ignatius, the most important cause of the division had been removed, yet there still remained in the party of Ignatius a number of fanatical zealots, who clung to the decisions of the late general council, to subscriptions with which they could not so easily trifle as

his own good pleasure, had recalled him from banishment: *καὶ μεγάλη δέξιώςει εἰσενέγκειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.* The agreement between Photius and Constantine Porphyrogenita sufficiently refutes the partial and fabulous report of the passionate Nicetas, and serves also to corroborate the genuineness of the transactions of this council, disputed by Leo Allatius.

* We here follow the above mentioned statement of Photius himself, which in its whole tone bears the marks of credibility. This statement was given before the council, where the presence of so many witnesses would prevent him from saying anything in reference to the point in question, contrary to the truth. He observes with regard to the friendship subsisting between him and Ignatius: *Μακαρίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ ἐσπείσαμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρηθήσῃμεν ταύτην ποτὶ.*

others and to the authority of the cathedra Petri.* For the purpose of removing out of the way, therefore, every obstacle to the peace of the church, and of depriving those who were opposed to it of every subterfuge, the emperor and the patriarch applied to pope John VIII., and endeavoured to procure his co-operation for the assembling of a council at Constantinople, by which the decrees of the former council might be annulled. Now the pope would readily foresee, that in case he refused his consent, the emperor would effect his purpose *without* him, and *his own* voice would appear to be powerless. If, on the other hand, he expressed himself in accordance with the wishes of the emperor, he might hope, that inasmuch as the *material* interest was the chief thing regarded by the Greeks, there would not be so much quarrelling about the *form*, which in this affair was the most important thing for the interest of the Romish church; and there would be no thought of protesting against his action, when he insisted that his sentences, which in this case would turn out as men would have it, was a decision of the controversy; a thing which on other occasions men were the least inclined to concede at Constantinople. And he might also hope to advance in no slight measure the material interests of the Roman church, especially touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria, by claiming it as a reward for his co-operation in furthering the emperor's designs; a thing which would never have been conceded to him under other circumstances.

After these views the pope acted. He insisted upon the binding force of his judicial decision, and would abate nothing from the authority of his predecessor. He assumes it as an established point in his letter to the emperor, that Photius had attained to his office in an informal manner; but he attributed to *himself*, as the successor of St. Peter, a plenary power, which, from a regard to the force of circumstances, on account

* One of the friends of Photius, Zacharias archbishop of Chalcedon, said, before the synod at Constantinople presently to be mentioned, that the motto of the promoters of the schism was: ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία οὕτως βούλεται. Harduin. VI. P. I. f. 224. Another said, that had it not been for the subscription, the χειρογραφία, by which they believed themselves bound, Photius would no longer have a single opponent. Ἀλλ' εὖτω παρισκιάσεν ὁ πόνηρος, ἵνα τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμβολον ὁ σταυρὸς νῦν τοῖς ἀφρονεστέροις σκανδάλου πρόφασις γένηται. The cross appended to the signature of the bishops, l. c. f. 244.

of the general longing after Photius, and for the promotion of the peace of the church, he would now exert, to adjust the informality by his supreme decision, and accord a dispensation from the rule of ecclesiastical law. By virtue of the power belonging to him of binding and loosing, he pronounced Photius and his friends discharged from all the ecclesiastical penalties to which they were liable by the former decisions; but he assumes, in so doing, that Photius will acknowledge it as a deed of grace, and beg for mercy before the assembled synod.* At the same time he established it as a fixed rule, that for the future no layman, no person in a secular office, but only members of the Constantinopolitan clerus, should be elevated to the patriarchal dignity. He furthermore made it an express condition of his recognition of Photius as patriarch, that he should renounce all claims to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria.† In the official instructions which the pope drew up for the use of his legates, and which were designed to preserve them from such false steps as the earlier legates of pope Nicholas had been guilty of,‡ he made the same points valid. He laid it down as a principle on no account to give up, that Photius should be indebted solely to the pope's decision for the validity of his election to the patriarchal dignity; and in the same manner as the popes sent the pall to all archbishops of the Western church, so his legates should, in the presence of the council, give to Photius the insignia of his episcopal dignity, and thus invest him with his office.§

* He says expressly: *Eundem Photium satisfaciendo, misericordiam coram synodo quærendo consacerdotem recipimus.*

† The letter in its genuine, original form is published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 7. Harduin. V. f. 1165.

‡ Which commonitorium has been published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 47. Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 208.

§ The first of the legates presented to him, before the assembled council, in the name of the pope, and as a sign that the latter acknowledged him as patriarch, a *στολή ἀρχιερατική*, a *ῥομφόειον*, a *στιγμὴς*, a *φιβώνιον*, and sandals. Harduin. VI. I. f. 228. That such a transaction of the papal legates should be represented as having taken place at the council, along with several other things, which could not have been invented by persons devoted to the interest of the Greek church, is surely an evidence in favour of the genuineness of the acts of this council, while, at the same time, it may be remarked in general, that those acts contain a great deal drawn immediately from the Byzantine life and

To constitute an ecumenical council according to the principles of the Greek church, it was necessary that not only the Roman bishop, but also the two or three other patriarchs should be represented; but a council of this sort could not easily be convened under the existing circumstances, because the three other patriarchs lived under the dominion of the Saracens, and any intercourse of their envoys with the Greek empire would inevitably expose the persons who might consent to undertake such a business, as well as all the Christians of those districts, to great peril. As an expedient to supply this deficiency, it had been contrived, even as early as the second Nicene council, that certain persons should be appointed to play the part of envoys from the other patriarchs; and it almost seems as if this sham had among the Greeks become one of the customary forms to be observed in the convention of all general councils. In the general council held by Photius at Constantinople in 867, there were persons present who played the part of plenipotentiaries and representatives of the three other patriarchs. But at the church assembly held by Ignatius in 869 at Constantinople, it came out that the whole embassy had been a fraudulent trick; that the pretended envoys were perhaps foreign merchants, who brought and presented forged credentials.* But this new council of 869 represented itself as one which, being held with the concurrence of the collective patriarchs, fully came up to the requisitions of an ecumenical council. The ecclesiastics Elias and Thomas appeared as plenipotentiaries of those patriarchs, and presented their letters; but a very short time after the breaking up of this council, the deposed Photius in one of his letters declared that an unheard of and unprecedented thing had happened—not unprecedented among the Greeks if the above remarks are true—that Ishmaelite agents and servants should be set up as

manners, and this too characteristically marked, to be possibly conceived as being mere fiction. The correspondence of these acts with the pope's letters serves also to confirm their genuineness.

* The earlier *ποποστηγται* are now mentioned as *ψευδοποποστηγται*. See Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1036, particularly act. VII. f. 876 and 1087. The imperial commissary expresses here the result of the investigation: *ὁ Φώτιος ἀνέπλωσεν, ὡς ἤθελε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα*. The question arises, to be sure, whether Photius was really the guilty person?

plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs.* And there actually appeared at the church assembly held at Constantinople in 879, delegates with letters from the patriarchs, which unhesitatingly pronounced everything that had been before transacted under their name to be a base fiction, and it was discovered that the pretended plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs were nothing more nor less than agents from the Saracens of those districts, sent on the business of redeeming captives.†

If such base cheats were tolerated at these councils for the purpose of obtaining some object which was thought desirable, we shall not be surprised to learn that advantage was taken of the slight knowledge possessed by the Latins of the Greek language,‡ and that such a turn was given to the pope's letter in the Greek translation as to make it seem more favourable to the interests of Photius, and to the independence of the Greek church.§

The council which met at Constantinople in 879 certainly did not proceed according to the principles expressed by the pope in his letter. It paid him much honour and respect; and a great deal was allowed to pass, which he had said respecting the authority of the Roman church, these things not being taken in so literal a sense; but in essentials they did not yield him an inch. Photius was not going to wait to be placed in the patriarchal office by the papal legates; he considered himself from the first the lawful patriarch. The papal legates

* See ep. 118.

† Harduin. VI. I. f. 290.

‡ A protospatharius performed the part of interpreter. It was said by the first of the Roman legates: διὰ Λέοντος βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἐρμηνέως διελάλησεν οὕτως. Harduin. VI. I. f. 231.

§ This is plain from comparing the letter in the form in which it was read before the council (see Harduin. V. f. 1171) with the original form, in which it has been published by Baronius from a codex Vaticanus. At the same time, we should not, with Baronius, rate this fraud too highly. Had the letter been altered so as entirely to meet the interest of the Greek church, much more must have been wholly omitted, or altered; but the fact is, that all the requisitions of the pope with regard to Photius occur in the Greek translation, though in a milder form. On the other hand, the Greek translation alone contains all that is said in praise of Photius, while whatever had before been done against him is represented as the work of odious intrigues, in which the church of Rome had no share; and everything done at the earlier synods is condemned.

who on this point stuck closely to their instructions, continually reiterated that Photius *had been made lawful patriarch by the decision of the pope*, and they called him to account for having assumed the patriarchal office before their arrival; but it was replied to them, that Photius was already recognized as lawful patriarch long before the papal decision; that he had been called to this office by the will of the emperor, the unanimous choice of the community, and the consent of the three patriarchs; that the bishops of the East, being eye-witnesses of the whole transaction, were better able to judge than the pope, who was so distant.* They were told, that their embassy, instead of being intended to restore Photius to his patriarchal dignity, was rather designed to retrieve the honour of the Roman church herself, and to clear her from the suspicion of having promoted a schism of the church. The pope, it is true, had, by virtue of his plenary authority, taken away from the decrees of the synods held at Rome and Constantinople their binding power for the future, but by this process the authority of these synods in itself considered, was by no means impaired. But it was contrary, surely, to the intention of the pope, as well as irreconcilable with the papal authority, that the anathema should be pronounced on those two synods.†

The legates acted up to their instructions also in another respect. They repeatedly brought forward the demand of the pope in regard to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria; but repellent, or in the milder phraseology of the Greeks, evasive

* See Harduin. VI. f. 224, 242, and 254. Bishop Procopius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia says, f. 243: *οἱ ἐγγίζοντες τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν πορρωτέρω μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκρίβειαν ἐπίστανται*, and then with a disgusting application of the words of St. John: *καὶ ὃν αἱ χεῖρες ἐψηλάφησαν καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐώρακασιν τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς τὴν γνῶσιν παραλαμβάνόντων*.

† It is true, the allegation, that this whole communitorium of the papal legates, as found in the acts of the council (Harduin. VI. l. f. 294) is interpolated or corrupted, is unfounded; for it is impossible to see in what way its introduction could promote the interest of the Greek church, while many things occur in it, which stand in direct contradiction with the interests and principles of the Greek church. But the passage in the tenth chapter, which treats of the overthrowing of the decrees of those two synods, may doubtless have been more strongly expressed in the Greek version than the sense contained in the original draft required or permitted.

answers were always given by the bishops of the council. "This affair," said they, "does not pertain to us; to determine the boundaries of dioceses is a matter which belongs to the emperor. When the provinces of the several patriarchs should be reunited under the dominion of the emperor, then mutual concessions could be made touching the boundaries of these provinces, so far as the ecclesiastical laws permitted." Photius himself gave fair words to the pope; he said, if it depended on him, he would willingly give up even more than the pope required; for charity seeketh not her own. In truth, what was there to be gained by the enlargement of one's diocese, except new cares and labours! * Again, the pope's demand, that a law should be passed, forbidding any layman, after the death of Photius, to be elevated to the patriarchal dignity, was not complied with. The older examples were once more appealed to—it was said that every church, as the Roman, so also the church of Constantinople, had its own peculiar and traditional customs, by which the letter of the law must be interpreted. † On this occasion many of the bishops declared in a noticeable manner against the idea of a separate and fixed caste of priests, and against the too sharply marked distinction between the clergy and the laity. "Of what advantage is it," said Procopius, archbishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, "for a person to be a clergyman or a monk who leads a life inconsistent with his calling? And if, on the other hand, a layman faithfully follows the doctrines of the gospel, and by his works shows himself worthy of the priestly or episcopal office, with what propriety can the natural form and cut of his hair (the absence of the tonsure) be considered a hindrance to his engaging in it?" ‡ And the delegates of the other patriarchs declared, "that Christ had not come down to earth merely for the clergy's sake; nor had he set before that order alone the rewards of virtue, but before the collective body of Christians." § In the sixth session of this council, the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was, according to the usual practice at general

* See l. c. f. 251, 283, 310, etc.

† Τὸ ἔθος αὐτὸ ἱκανὸν ἐστὶ νικᾶν τὸν κανόνα, on which principle, indeed, every abuse might be defended.

‡ F. 283: τί δέ ἐστιν ἑμποδὼν ἢ τῶν τριχῶν φυσικὴ περιβολή, εἴαν ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῶν λαϊκῶν ἐξεπαζόμενος κατὰ τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς διατάξεις πολιτεύηται.

§ Fol. 311.

church assemblies, republished as the common witness of the faith, with express rejection of every change of the symbol whereby anything was taken from it or added to it, in allusion, doubtless, to the additional clause defining the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit.

It is evident from all this, that this council had made use of the pope as their instrument, and acted in an entirely different sense from what he intended. Yet it cannot be said that Photius deceived the pope, for even in his letter to him he protested against the position assumed by the latter, that Photius was to be indebted solely to the mercy of the church for the recognition of the validity of his election as patriarch. He maintained, on the contrary, and the council acted on the same principle, that the patriarchal dignity belonged to him of right, and that as he was not conscious of having done wrong, so he stood in need of no mercy.*

The pope, as soon as he received the letter of the patriarch, together with the acts of this council, at once expressed his surprise at finding that the council had, in various particulars, departed from his directions, and even taken the liberty to alter them.† He blamed in Photius his want of humility; and gave him to understand that he could recognize him as a brother only in case he shaped his conduct for the future in the way of submission to the Romish church. In this letter to Photius, as in his letter to the emperor, he declared, it is true, that he compassionately (*misericorditer*) adopted what had been done by that council of Constantinople, in reference to the restoration of the patriarch to his office; yet he immediately adds, that if his legates should perchance be found to have acted in that synod in a way contrary to the instructions they had received, he adopted no such decrees, and must declare them null and void.‡ He thanked the emperor,§ that he had given up to

* That he had written to the pope in this strain, may be gathered from what the latter says in his answer to Photius, ep. 108. Harduin. VI. I. f. 87: *Subintulisti, quod non nisi ab iniqua gerentibus misericordia sit quaerenda.*

† Ep. 108: *Mirandum valde est, cur multa, quæ nos statueramus, aut aliter habita, aut mutata esse noscantur, et nescimus, cujus studio vel neglectu variata monstrentur.*

‡ *Si fortasse nostri legati in eadem synodo contra apostolicam præceptionem egerint, nos nec recipimus nec judicamus alicujus existere firmitatis.*

§ Ep. 109.

the apostle Peter, as was right, the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria. We may conjecture that the pope had here attached to the fine phrases, which the Greeks were so fond of employing, without much regard to their import, a great deal more than the emperor had in his mind. The pope, expressing himself in the manner described, had even at this time sufficiently intimated his dissatisfaction with the conduct of Photius, and of the church assembly at Constantinople. His only reason for delaying, at present, to make use of stronger language was, as he had explained, that he wished to wait and see how Photius would act, and especially, as we may believe, to see whether he would yield or not in the affair of Bulgaria. But as nothing of this sort was done, he pronounced on him for the second time, probably in the year 881, the sentence of condemnation,* and the schism was renewed.

Yet in the year 886, when Photius was, in consequence of political charges, again deposed and banished by Basilus' son and successor, the emperor Leo the Philosopher, and the Ignatian party once more became dominant, the latter restored the old connection with the popes, an event, however, which was followed by only transitory effects.

In all cases alike, the genuine Christian spirit is found, wherever it prevails, to remove the barriers of separating human ordinances, and unite men on the one common foundation of the Christian life. We see this finely illustrated in the case of the Greek abbot Nilus, of whose life and labours we have spoken in a former part of this volume. His character, viewed on this particular side, shows us that he was a true organ of this spirit; and how much he contributed to promote it, is evident from the fact, that he was respected and loved by the members of the Latin no less than by those of the Greek church. In Italy he was received with reverence by the abbot and monks of the abbey of Monte Cassino,† who requested him to celebrate mass in their church in the Greek tongue, that God might be all in all (that God might be worshipped and glorified in different forms, that these separating diversities of form might be swallowed up and lost in the spirit of devotion). At first he declined accepting of this

* See Mansi Concil. T. XVII. f. 537.

† See the above-mentioned account of the life of Nilus, c. 11.

testimony of respect, saying: "How shall we, who at present are everywhere humbled on account of our sins, sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" However, he yielded to their importunity, and sung a song composed by himself, in praise of St. Benedict. The conversation of the monks afterwards turned upon the existing difference between the two churches, in reference to fasting on the Sabbath. When asked his own opinion on this matter, Nilus replied, in the words of the apostle Paul: "Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received both. But why dost thou judge thy brother? whether *we* therefore eat, or whether ye fast, let us do all to the glory of the Lord." He then referred to the examples of the older church-teachers, which seemed to be in favour of the Greek custom; but added: "We will not contend, however, about this; for fasting cannot injure us; let us rather say with the apostle: Meat commendeth us not to God, 1 Corinth. viii. 8. If the Jews would but honour Christ crucified as their Lord, I should take no offence even though they fasted on Sunday." Upon this, the monks asked him, "If he did not think it a sin, then, to fast on the holy Sunday?" He replied: "Were it a sin, how could St. Benedict fast on Sunday, and on festival days, and even forget the festival of Easter? Hence we may learn, that whatever is done for the sake of God is good, and not to be rejected; no, not even the slaying of a man—as the example of Phineas teaches. In truth, everything depends on the temper in which a thing is done. "And so," he added, "*we* do right not to fast on the Sabbath, in opposition to the Manichæans, who reject the Old Testament; and *you are bound to act as you do*, at your particular point of view, to fast on this day, in order to purify your souls for the celebration of the next following day, consecrated to our Lord's resurrection."

In the year 1024, under the reign of the Greek emperor Basilius II., negotiations passed between the Greek and the Romish church, the object of which was to induce the pope to renounce the primacy over the whole church, and to consent that the patriarch of Constantinople should be considered on a level with himself; that, as head over the Greek church, a church following her own laws, he should be so far considered

an ἐπίσκοπος οἰκουμενικός. This proposition stood in contradiction with the principles of the Romish church, as handed down from the time of Leo the Great, and with the idea of the church theocracy then prevailing in the Western church. Nothing but the power of a bribe in the then corrupt state of the papacy, where everything was venial, and to a pope like John XIX., who was a stranger to the church interest, could cause such a proposition to be entertained for a moment. But the business, which was meant to be kept a profound secret, soon got wind in Italy, and excited universal indignation. The pious abbot, William of Dijon, who was in the habit of lecturing popes, attacked this pope in the most violent manner, for daring to surrender one iota of the power conferred on St. Peter by Christ himself, and which extended over the whole church.* Thus the whole project was frustrated; though there can be no doubt that, even if it had been carried through, the later popes would have refused to be bound by it.

By degrees, however, the consequences of the first schism between the two churches disappeared, although the churches themselves came into no closer connection with each other. In Italy and in Rome, there were abbots belonging to the Greek church, who followed her particular rites without being molested on that account; and the same quiet and freedom were enjoyed by abbots and churches of the Latin order in Constantinople. But after the middle of the eleventh century the schism broke out anew, and was made irreconcilable, by the zeal, no less passionate than bigoted, of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople. This person could not bear the sight of churches and monasteries at Constantinople, in which the Latin rites prevailed. In 1053, he caused all churches in which worship was held according to the rites of the Romish church, to be closed, and the abbots who would not conform to the rites of the Greek church were confined to their cloisters.† In conjunction with Leo,

* Glaber Rudolph, l. IV. c. 1. He writes: *Est fama rei, quæ nuper erga nos accidit, de qua quis audiens non scandalizatur, noverit, se longe ab amore superno disparari, quoniam, licet potestas Romani imperii quæ olim in orbe terrarum vixit nunc, per diversa terrarum innumeris regatur sceptris, ligandi solvendique in terra ac in cælo potestas dono inviolabili incumbit magisterio Petri.*

† This pope Leo IX. reports, in his letter to these patriarchs, which we shall cite, c. 29. Harduin. Concil. VI. I. fol. 943.

bishop of Achris (Achrida), the metropolitan of Bulgaria, he violently attacked, in a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani in Apulia, the whole Latin church. This letter was to be directed, at the same time, to all priests and monks of the Franks, and to the pope himself. He here gave prominence to *one* contested point, which had never before come into public discussion.

It had certainly been the general practice in the churches, at least till into the eighth century,* to make use of common bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; but as the prevailing theory concerning the nature of this ordinance naturally created an anxiety to distinguish it outwardly also from a common transaction, and as the spiritual tendency of these times, scarcely able to discriminate between things essential and things accidental, aimed more at a material than a formal agreement of the celebration of the Lord's Supper with its institution, so in the ninth century, the use of unleavened bread † in the celebration of the Supper was introduced into

* That in the seventh century, it was not the practice to use unleavened bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper, may be gathered from a church ordinance made near the close of this century, which has been incorrectly adduced as an evidence on the other side—the sixth canon of the 16th council of Toledo, of the year 693. It is directed against an abuse practised by many of the Spanish priests, who used fragments of their ordinary household bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper (*passim, quomodo unumquemque aut necessitas impulerit aut voluntas coegerit, de panibus suis usibus preparatis crustulam in rotunditatem auferant*). Now if it had been customary at that time to make use of unleavened bread, those priests would have been censured for making use of other bread than unleavened, and ordered to use the latter alone. This however was not done; but it was only established as a fixed rule: *Ut non aliter panis in altari proponatur, nisi integer et nitidus, qui ex studio fuerit preparatus*. We shall be more likely to find in a passage in Alcuin some indication of the use of unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist, ep. 75, ed. Froben. T. I. f. 106: *Panis, qui in corpus Christi consecratur absque fermento ullius alterius ineffectionis debet esse mundissimus*. Yet even here we may understand the sense to be, that nothing but what was usually employed in the making of bread, no foreign material, should be introduced, just as no other foreign element was to be mixed with the water and the wine.

† Rabanus Maurus, l. I. De ecclesiasticis officiis, c. 31, requires that panis infermentatus should be used in the eucharist; and in the vision of the Spanish bishop Ildefonsus, A.D. 845, which Mabillon published with his *Dissertatio de akzymo et fermentato*, in his ouvrages posthumes, T.

the Western church, which was held to be necessary on the assumption that the last Supper of Christ with his disciples was a proper passover meal, and that he therefore used unleavened bread. Afterwards, a peculiar mystical meaning was supposed to be connected with this usage. In the Greek church, on the contrary, the ancient practice was retained; but it belonged to the bigoted, fleshly zeal of such a man as the above-mentioned patriarch of Constantinople, to attach importance to so insignificant a matter. In the use of unleavened bread he detected an inclination to Judaism. Fasting on the Sabbath in Lent he also without any good reason called a Jewish custom.* On the other hand, forgetting the very principle on which these accusations were based, he made the non-observance of the apostolic prohibition, forbidding the eating of things strangled, a matter of special complaint. This letter happened to fall into the hands of cardinal Humbert, respecting whose zeal as a polemic we have already spoken. He translated it into Latin, and laid it before pope Leo IX. The latter published a long letter in reply,† in which he passed lightly over the material part of the charge, but took special notice of the formal, contrasting the indisputable and decisive authority of the church of the apostle Peter, an apostle who must beyond all doubt have committed to her the tradition of the truth on all important points, with the church of Constantinople always troubled by false doctrines and by schisms. With still greater justice might he contrast the spirit of tolerance and charity, which, in respect to these merely external differences, still prevailed in the Romish church, with the bigoted zeal of the patriarch.‡ A

I. p. 189, it is spoken of as customary to use unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper.

* *Sabbata quomodo in quadragesima Judaice observatis?* See the letter in *Canisii Lectiones antiquæ*, ed. Basnage, T. III. P. I. f. 282. To this cardinal Humbert could rightly reply, that the reproach of Judaizing applied more properly to the Greeks. *Vos si non Judaisatis, dicite cur Judæis in simili observantia sabbati communicatis? Sabbatum certe ipsi celebrant et vos celebratis, epulantur ipsi et solvunt semper in sabbato jejuniū.* L. c. f. 285.

† Harduin. *Concil.* VI. I. f. 927.

‡ *Vid. c. 29: Cum intra et extra Romam plurima Græcorum repe- riantur monasteria sive ecclesiæ, nullum eorum adhuc perturbatur vel prohibetur a paterna traditione sive sua consuetudine, quin potius seade-*

lengthened refutation of the particular charges against the church of Rome was afterwards composed by cardinal Humbert himself, in a writing in which the complaints of the Constantinopolitan are introduced along with the replies of the Roman.* He here shows himself to be a man decidedly superior to his opponent in intellectual power, and insight into the essence of Christianity. He expresses himself on many points with more liberality than was to be expected from him, after having given such other proofs of his spirit. He points out the contradiction in which his opponent involved himself by accusing the Latins of a Judaizing tendency, and still reproaching them with the non-observance of a law about eating, borrowed from the Old Testament.† But if the authority of those ordinances should be held valid as apostolical, then he maintained, on the contrary, that they originated in a time when Christianity had not as yet come to its wholly independent development; that the gospel shone first with a dawning light, gradually dispelling the shades of Judaism, during which the apostles themselves wavered in a certain sense between Christianity and Judaism. Hence these ordinances, belonging as they did to a stage of transition, could possess only a transient validity.‡ He charges the Greeks with attending to these outward things to the neglect of faith and love, which constitute the essence of Christianity.§

tur et admonetur, eam observare. Scit namque, quia nihil obsunt salutis credentium diversæ pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest, uni Deo commendat omnes.

* In the above cited Collection of Canisius, ed. Basnage, III. I. f. 283.

† Numquid vobis solis licet, quidquid libet, ut modo ad legis patrociniū humiliter recurratis et modo ab ea superbe resiliatis?

‡ Pro loco et tempore nonnulla carnalia veteris legis mandata apostolos observasse scimus, quando adhuc quasi in matutino crepusculo tenebræ et lux confulgebant et intuentium oculos nunc huc, nunc illuc reducebant, sic apostoli in Judæa commorati aliquando claritate evangelii expergefati ab umbra legis recedebant, aliquando necessitate vel consuetudine torpentes in eam recidebant. f. 304. The opinion here expressed, that the apostles came gradually to a clearer and fuller knowledge of Christianity, is remarkable in an author of this period.

§ Considerate, ad quantam stultitiam devoluta sit vestra scriptura et sapientia, quæ eum ab hominibus exquirere deberet finem præceptorum Dei, id est caritatem de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta, hoc solum exquirendum putat, an aliquando comederint carnem ursinam. He admits that the Latins also considered themselves bound to abstain

But the renewal of this schism was, on account of the great influence of the pope among the Occidentals, altogether opposed to the political interests of the Greek emperor Constantine Monomachus, who therefore took every pains to make up the difficulty. By personal application, and through the medium of the patriarch Michael, he entered into negotiations of peace with the pope. The latter met his advances, and shortly before his death in 1054, sent an embassy consisting of three persons to Constantinople to settle the terms of agreement. Cardinal Frederic, archdeacon of the church of Rome, stood at the head of this embassy; cardinal Humbert, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, were his coadjutors. The lofty tone in which, as papal legates, they thought themselves entitled to speak, had a direct tendency to excite against them the prejudices of a patriarch who had ever been accustomed to slavish submissiveness in the clergy.* Humbert composed here the work we have just mentioned in refutation of the charges of the patriarch Michael, and also another, against a second violent attack, made in the like spirit, on the Latin church by the priest Nicetas Pectoratus, of the monastery of Studion. The patriarch, after a first visit from the legates, avoided all further intercourse with them; being determined to make no concessions, and to suffer no humiliation.† He persisted in declaring, that on so weighty a matter, touching the interest of the whole Greek church, nothing could be done except with the concurrence of the

from eating things strangled in their blood, but this only in reference to animals found dead, in opposition to the practice of barbarians: Sanguine quocunque morticinio aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia humana præfocato apud nos aliquando vescentibus absque extremo periculo vitæ hujus pœnitentia gravis imponitur, nam de cæteris, quæ aucupio aut canibus seu laqueo venantium moriuntur, apostoli præceptum, 1 Cor. 10, sequimur.

* The patriarch Michael, in his letter to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, giving a report of this embassy, complains of the *ὑπερφανεία, ἀλαζονεία*, and *αὐθάδεια* of the envoys. But it was surely absurd in him to expect from the papal legates the *συνήθης προσκύνησις* of the Greek clergy, or to hint to those who represented the person of the pope that they ought to take their place behind the metropolitans. Vid. Ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta ed. Cotelier. T. II. pag. 139.

† As he says himself, in his second letter, Cotelier. Monumenta, II. p. 164: *ἡμεῖς τὴν αὐτῶν συντυχίαν παρητησάμεθα καὶ τὴν ἔντευξιν.*

other patriarchs, and that the emperor could not force the patriarch of Constantinople. But the more feeble minded Nicetas was obliged to accommodate himself to the emperor's will, who was determined to obtain peace with the pope at any price, and retracted, in presence of the emperor and of the legates, what he had said in his book against the Romish church, pronouncing sentence of condemnation on all those who did not acknowledge the Romish church as first in rank and orthodox in faith. His work was committed to the flames; and the legates, finding they could obtain no interview with the patriarch himself, repaired to the church of St. Sophia, where they publicly condemned him and all who thought like him, depositing on the altar a fiercely written document, in which this condemnation was embodied. By this step, all the negotiations were broken up. The patriarch did, indeed, summon the legates to appear before a council; but the emperor caused them to be secretly warned against obeying this summons, for the fury of the multitude excited against the defamers of the Greek church might easily expose them to danger. It was no longer safe for them to remain in Constantinople.* The emperor himself, to avoid the appearance of being an enemy to the Greek church, was obliged to yield on every point to the exasperated patriarch what he demanded for the maintenance of his honour:—the punishments which could not light on the legates, fell on the Greek interpreters, who had translated Humbert's condemnatory document into the Greek language. The innocent had to suffer for the guilty. Thus this pretended mission of peace

* There are two reports of these occurrences, one drawn up by the cardinal Humbert, in the before mentioned Collection of Canisius, l. c. fol. 325; another in the Greek language by Michael Cerularius, in his work *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Græcis*, Paris, 1646, p. 161. These two reports, though they agree in all essential points, yet sometimes contradict each other. The contradictions, however, are doubtless owing in part to the circumstance that in the Greek official report it was deemed necessary to conceal everything which might seem to reflect on the Greek church, and especially to the equivocal part played by the Greek emperor, who represented the matter in one way to the legates, to whom he wished to appear desirous of maintaining peace with the Romish church, and in another to the patriarch, whom he wished to conciliate. He prevaricated, after the regular Byzantine fashion; hence, as a matter of course, the conduct of the emperor is represented in two opposite ways in the two reports.

only served to provoke a still more hostile spirit in the Greek church towards Rome than had existed before, which expresses itself in two letters, addressed soon after these events by the patriarch Michael to Peter, patriarch of Antioch. In these letters he sums up against the church of Rome a far greater number of accusations, true and false, than was contained in his former one.*

From this time the two parties called each other by the heretical names, Azymites and Prozymites or Fermentarians. For the rest, this controversy led to interesting inquiries respecting the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist among the Greeks, who felt themselves called upon to refute the charge that they had departed from the institution of Christ himself. Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, attempted to prove that Christ, who foresaw that his passion would occur on the very day appointed for holding the passover, inasmuch as his passion corresponded to the offering of the paschal lamb, anticipated the passover-meal one day in his supper with the disciples, holding it on the thirteenth of the month Nisan, so that he could not therefore as yet have used unleavened bread; † and he succeeded very well in making out this point from the gospel of John, though not so well in bringing the account contained in the other gospels into harmony with this. But he assumed that John, who wrote last, was the most accurate; that he intended more exactly to define what the others had stated inexactly, and that the others should therefore be interpreted in accordance with him. To another polemic, who wrote on this subject towards the close of the eleventh century, Theophylact, arch-

* Among these, we may be surprised to find it asserted that the Latins did not worship relics, nor many among them images. Monumenta eccles. Græc. l. c. p. 144. The patriarch Peter himself saw how destitute of foundation this charge was, and defended the Roman church against it. l. c. p. 158. The more just and moderate Theophylact, in his tract *περὶ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦνται Λατῖνοι*, (which has been published by Mingarelli in his *Anecdotorum fasciculus*, Romæ, 1756, pag. 287,) calls this accusation a *σατανικὴ συκοφαντία*. But the Greek zealots were glad to see the Latins placed in the same category with the odious *εἰκονομάχοις*. Perhaps what had been heard concerning the principles of the older Frankish church, furnished the occasion for this accusation.

† See the analysis of the patriarch Peter in the above cited Collection of Cotelerius, T. II. pag 123, etc.

bishop of Achrida, this hypothesis seemed offensive; and he therefore believed it necessary to admit that Christ, who held with his disciples a proper feast of the passover, used unleavened bread; but he maintained that it by no means followed from this that the church must necessarily use unleavened bread in all succeeding celebrations of the Lord's Supper, for a *material* uniformity with the manner in which Christ then performed this transaction was by no means requisite, nor indeed practicable. For, on this supposition, it would be necessary to use precisely the same kind of bread and wine which Christ then used; on the presumption that he used common barley loaves,* as when he fed the five thousand, men would be bound to use barley bread in the Lord's Supper, and not wheat bread; and to use the wine of Palestine. It would be necessary that the sacred act should follow after a meal, and be performed in a recumbent posture; and that a hall or chamber should be used for its observance. But, by virtue of their Christian liberty, men were freed from the obligation of observing uniformity in these matters; and hence they should no longer consider themselves bound to use unleavened bread.†

Apart from the fierce zealots, who, agitated by their heated passions, attached the same importance to all the points in dispute, seeking only to multiply them, stood at the beginning of the new controversy Peter, the patriarch of Antioch; and, at a later period, archbishop Theophylact, one of his followers, who had been very active in renewing the dispute. Both distinguished themselves by the superior coolness, the spirit of Christian love and moderation, which they manifested in controversy, and which enabled them to separate, in the different usages, essentials from non-essentials. Both agreed in this respect, that they defended the Latin church against things unjustly laid to her charge; and that they regarded the dogmatical difference, touching the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as the only important one. "We are bound," writes the patriarch Peter of Antioch,‡ "to have some respect, at all times, to the good intentions of men; and more

* By virtue of the εὐτέλεια τοῦ βίου.

† See the above cited tract of Theophylact, c. 9. l. c. page 273.

‡ L. c. Coteler. p. 155.

particularly are we bound, where it can be done without danger to the cause of God or of the faith, to be always inclined to the side of peace and brotherly love. Even the Latins we are bound to recognize as brethren, though from want of culture, or through ignorance, they often lean to their own understandings, and turn aside from the right path; and from a rude people we should not require the same accuracy as we do from the cultivated Greeks." * As to Theophylact, he also declares the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit to be the only important point of controversy between the Greeks and the Latins. On this point nothing should be conceded by the Greeks, however loftily the Latins might appeal to the lofty episcopal see,† and to the confession of St. Peter, and bluster about the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Here even he must contend, who on other points might choose to be mild;‡ but even here he insisted that men ought not to strive about words, but should endeavour to come to an understanding with each other about conceptions. Perhaps the Latins had erred simply on account of the poverty of their language, inasmuch as they employ the same term to denote the causality of the *communication* of the Holy Spirit and the causality of his being; and in this case the poverty of their language should excuse the imperfection of their creed. Having come to an agreement in their conceptions, men should praise God in the *unity of spirit*.§ The Latins, he observed, moreover, might retain the less accurate forms of expression in their homiletic discourses, if they only guarded against misconception by carefully explaining their meaning. It was only in the confession of faith in the symbol that perfect clearness was requisite. On all the other contested points, the principle should be followed of tolerating the lesser evil for the sake of guarding against a greater. Many things, which it would be difficult to alter, must be tolerated for the sake of maintaining Christian fellowship. After the example of the apostles, to the weak we must become weak; and imitate Christ, who was numbered with the transgressors, and gave up his life that he might bring together the dispersed chil-

* Μη τοσαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιζητεῖν ἐν βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν, ἢν αὐτοὶ περὶ λόγους ἀναστρεφόμενοι ἀπαιτούμεθα.

† Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τοὺς λόγους ποιῶνται, ὃν ὑψηλὸν ὑψηλοὶ προστιθέασιν.

‡ Vid. s. 14.

§ Vid. s. 5 et 6.

dren of God, and unite them all in one fold, under one shepherd. He denounced the selfish pharisaical zeal that found pleasure in reviving long forgotten heretical names, and applying them where there was not the least reason for it. "Let us beware of such conduct," so he concludes his discourse, "servants of Christ, friends, brothers, lest we become estranged from God, who draws all men to him by his forbearance, while we, I was about to say, repel all men from us by our pride of opinion." *

IV. REACTION OF THE SECTS UPON THE DOMINANT CHURCH, AND ITS SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE.

IT still remains for us to trace, in the history of the sects of this period, the indications of a reaction, extending through the whole Middle Ages,—the reaction of a spirit striving after a greater freedom of development. This, however, did not always proceed from the same main tendency of the religious consciousness, in opposition to the church-theocratical system, or in opposition to the mixture of Jewish and Christian elements in the dominant church system. And here it will be necessary, in the first place, to point out the connection of the events now to be noticed, with the history of the Paulicians in the preceding period. The earlier persecutions of the Paulician sect had promoted its spread; had tended, in particular, to further its extension beyond the then limits of the East Roman empire into districts where it met with a favourable reception from the most formidable enemies of that empire, the Saracens; and the same was the result when these persecutions were revived and pushed to a more violent extreme by the fanatical zeal of the empress Theodora, in propagating the doctrines of the church. Military officers were sent to the districts of Armenia, to extirpate the Paulicians; and multitudes were hung, beheaded, drowned, and their property confiscated. The number of the victims to this outrage is reckoned at not less than a hundred thousand.† The consequence was, that a man attached to the imperial army

* Μὴ οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριῶμεν Θεοῦ, τοῦ πάντας διὰ τῆς χρηστότητος ἔλκοντος, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν πάντας σχεδὸν ἀπαθούμενοι.

† Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuat. l. IV. c. 16. fol. 103. ed. Paris.

itself, Carbeas, first adjutant* to the commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in the eastern part of the empire, exasperated by the execution of his father, and, being a Paulician himself, fearing for his own safety, fled, with five thousand members of the sect, to the province of Melitene, a part of Armenia subject to the dominion of the Saracens, where Paulicians had already established themselves at some earlier period. The number of the Paulicians was here so great, that, besides the city of Argeum, mentioned in the preceding period, they were now able to found two others, Amara and Tephrica. In conjunction with the Saracens, they often committed serious depredations upon the Greek empire. About the year 969 the emperor John Tzimesces, at the request of Theodore, patriarch of Antioch, † transported many of this sect, which it was thought desirable to remove from the eastern districts, to Philippopolis, in Thrace, ‡ where they were established as a watch over the boundaries of the empire; and as they had already, in the ninth century, § sought to effect an entrance into the new church of Bulgaria, so they now availed themselves of this opportunity to make still further progress in that country, and to extend themselves into other parts of Europe.

But it was in Asia, and particularly in Armenia and the adjacent countries, the original birth-place of this sect, where it was still found to flourish in perpetual vigour, deriving fresh nourishment and impulse from new mixtures of Christian elements with the old Oriental religions. In Armenia a sect had maintained itself from the older times, sprung from the mixture of the Zoroastrian worship of Ormuzd with a few elements of Christianity. The members of this sect were called Arevurdís, or children of the sun, on account of their worship of that luminary. || The Paulicians differed from *this*

* Πρωτομανδάτωρ.

† Vid. Zonaræ Annales, l. XVII.

‡ Where their descendants still continue to live, as appears from the *εγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Φιλίππουπόλεως*, pag. 27 et 28, published by the priest and œconomus of the Greek church in this town, named Constantine. Vienna, 1819.

§ According to the testimony of Peter of Sicily.

|| For this, as also for the following accounts, I am indebted to the kindness of my worthy friend and colleague, the learned promoter of

sect, in that they adopted more elements from Christianity; yet, even among the different parties of the Paulicians, there seem to have existed certain gradations, according to their different relations to Parsism and to Christianity, and their inclination, on the whole, to the one or to the other. Between the years 833 and 854, the sect in Armenia took a new form and a new impulse, from a person named Sembat, who sprung up in the province of Ararat, and although by birth and education a Paulician, yet, having entered into some connection with a certain Medschusic, a Persian physician and astronomer,* was led, under his influence, to attempt a new combination of Parsism and Christianity. He established himself in the village Thondrac, from which circumstance his sect obtained the name of Thondracians.† This sect, though it met with no mercy from the bishops, at whose instigation it was fiercely persecuted, continually revived, and spread

Armenian literature among us, Dr. Petermann, who has furnished me with passages translated from Tschamtschean's History of Armenia, P. I. p. 765, etc. which contain excerpts from earlier records.

* Hence, probably, a man who, after the oriental fashion, busied himself with astrology and necromancy, which called in the aid of those other sciences. Michael Psellus says the same thing of the Euchites, respecting whom we shall presently speak.

† According to the Armenian accounts, which we follow, in the above mentioned History of Armenia, Tom. II. p. 884—895, we might suppose that this sect took a pantheistic, antinomian direction, favouring every species of immorality, such as we find in the case of many of the older Gnostic sects, and such as Michael Psellus ascribes to a portion of the Euchites; for it is said of them, that they rejected the doctrine of a providence, of a life after death, of the grace of the Holy Spirit, all morality, all the sacraments of the church, that they acknowledged no law and no restraints, and asserted that there was no sin and no punishment. But the bitterness of polemical passion, the prevalent credulity and superstition among the Armenians, who were prepared to say the worst things of these heretics, and who wanted sense and capacity to enter candidly into the connection and coherence of the opinions of their opponents, render their accounts extremely liable to suspicion; and their own remark, that these people endeavoured to entice the simple, by the show of a pious and strict life, which was only hypocrisy, betrays evidence that they indulged in malicious interpretation. As the members of these sects kept their doctrines secret, and accommodated themselves, in various ways, to reigning opinions, so there is the less reason to expect that those who took no especial pains for it, would learn anything certain about their doctrines.

widely in Armenia.* At one time, in particular, about the year 1002, it made the most alarming progress ; when, as we are told, it was joined by bishop Jacob, spiritual head of the province of Harkh. But since Christianity in Armenia was extremely corrupted by superstition, and a host of ceremonial observances, growing out of the mixture of Christian and Jewish elements, which latter abounded to a still greater extent here than in other countries, the question naturally arises, whether everything which was opposed to these foreign elements, and which, in this opposition, united its strength with that of the Paulicians, though proceeding in other respects from entirely different principles, was not wrongly attributed by the defenders of the then dominant church-system to the influence of the Paulician sect. Supposing the case to have been so, it may be conjectured that bishop Jacob was one of those men who, by the study of the sacred Scriptures and of the older church teachers, had caught the spirit of reform, a conjecture which is certainly corroborated by the fact that two synods were unable to convict him of any heresy. If, however, he was actually connected with the Paulicians, it was assuredly with those of the better stamp, with those who, in their efforts to bring about a restoration of apostolic simplicity, and in their opposition to the intermixture of Judaism with Christianity, represented the spirit of Marcion. His fierce opponents themselves acknowledge that he was distinguished for the austerity of his life ; and his priests, who travelled through the land as preachers of repentance, were men of the same simple and abstemious habits. He and his followers denounced the false confidence which was placed in masses, oblations, alms, church-prayers, as if it were possible by these means to obtain the forgiveness of sins. His own act alone, said they, can help the individual who has sinned ; a sentiment which could easily be misrepresented, and made to signify that they pronounced all other means to be worthless. He declared himself opposed to the animal sacrifices practised in the Armenian church.† Once, some of his followers hap-

* Those who were treated in the mildest way, were, for the terror of others, branded in the forehead with the image of a fox, as a sign of the heretic, who creeps slyly into the Lord's vineyard, seeking to destroy it.

† Offerings, at the celebration of festivals in memory of the dead, as oblations, in the name of the latter. The meat-offering was sprinkled

pened to be present when animals were offered as an oblation for the dead. "Thou poor beast," said one of them, "the man sinned through his whole life, and then died; but what sin hast thou done, that thou must die with him?" This bishop met with great success among the clergy, the people, and the nobles, until finally the Catholicus, or spiritual chief of the Armenian church, craftily succeeded in getting possession of his person. He first caused him to be branded with the heretical mark, and then to be carried from place to place, attended by a common crier, to proclaim him a heretic, and expose him to the public scorn. After this he was thrown into a dungeon, from which he managed to effect his escape, but was finally killed by his enemies.

Thus the Paulicians and other kindred sects, though occasionally suppressed, continually sprung up anew in Armenia till the middle of the eleventh century; and from this point they spread abroad into other regions, particularly the adjacent provinces of the Roman empire, partly from compulsion and to escape the violence of persecution, and partly from the desire of multiplying converts to their own doctrines.

In the Greek church, there appeared in the eleventh century a sect already numerous, and which perhaps had long been spreading in secret, under the name of the Euchites,* or

with consecrated salt, then distributed among the poor; sacrificial feasts were held as agapæ, to which the poor were invited. The Armenian church-teachers derived these customs from an accommodation to the weaknesses of the converted pagans, of which we have similar examples in the older church. The prevailing superstition of fire-worship in Armenia would, however, furnish less occasion for such customs, which, perhaps, may with more propriety be traced to an intermixture of Judaism and Christianity, which intermixture it was afterwards sought to defend. Vid. Nersëtis Clajensis opera. Venet. 1833. Vol. I. p. 40. The Armenian canons, in the work of Johannes Ozniensis. Venet. 1834. p. 61. Conciliationis ecclesiæ Armeniæ cum Romana auctore Clemente Galano. Romæ. 1661. P. II. pag. 405.

* The learned Constantinopolitan, Michael Psellus the younger, who flourished after the middle of the eleventh century, composed a dialogue, in which a certain Timotheus and a Thracian are the interlocutors, which treats concerning the doctrines of these sects, but especially concerning the appearances of demons, with whose help many extraordinary things were said to be done among them. His *διάλογος περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων*, ed. Gaulmin. Paris 1615. Here it is said of them (p. 5): *τινὰς θεομάχους ἀνδρας ἐν μεσῷ στρέφειν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεροῦ κόμματος*, whether by the holy stamp here we are to understand the stamp of the catholic church, to

Enthusiasts, as they were called by the people. They were denominated Euchites from their mode of praying, which they represented as the height of Christian perfection, and exalted above every other religious act; and enthusiasts from their boasted ecstasies (*ἐνθουσιασμοί*) in which they pretended to receive special revelations, and to enjoy immediate intercourse with the spiritual world. This sectarian name recalls the Euchites, or, as they were denominated after a Slavonian rendering of the same word, the Bogomiles, of the twelfth century, and also the older Euchites; for the same mystical, theosophic bent, and the similar circumstance which in the earlier times gave origin to the name of the sect, constitute a relationship between the older and the more recent Euchites. Also the dualistic element would easily find in their doctrines, as we have explained on a former page, a convenient foothold, and in the East such sects might be secretly propagated, with slight changes, from age to age. These new Euchites appeared also in Mesopotamia, and in the character of monks, like the older sect.* The Greek monks in the tenth century often boasted of having received special revelations, of possessing the gift of prophecy,† and these Euchites might propagate themselves without being detected under the assumed character of monks, or their common sympathy with the monks on these points might easily gain for them an admission into some monastic order.

Respecting the doctrines of these Euchites, the information we derive from Michael Psellus, the only writer who can be relied upon as good authority, is very scanty and inexact; it is sufficient however to show that they had some connection with sects originating in Armenia, and with the Bogomiles and Catharians of after times. Agreeing with the doctrine of Zoroaster, they believed in one perfect original being, from

which these Euchites had attached themselves, assuming the appearance of Catholic Christians; or whether we are to understand by it monks and ecclesiastics as distinguished from other Christians, since the Euchites had found their way even among these.

* See the tract of Michael Psellus, already cited, p. 37.

† See in particular Leo Diaconus, Hist. IV. 7. ed. Hase, in the new collection, pag. 64, where, in citing a prophecy, it is added: *εἴτε πρὸς τῶν τὰ μετέωρα περισκοπούντων τινός, εἴτε καὶ τῶν μονάδα βίον ἱπανηομένων*, and V. 5.

whom they derived two sons, the good and the evil principle. Their doctrine touching the relation of these two principles to each other, seems to have constituted, according as it inclined one way or the other, either to an *absolute* or to a *relative* Dualism, a main difference, and indeed the ground of two several parties, in this sect. And to this same distinction, it may be remarked, is to be referred also the main difference between the Bogomiles and the Catharians, and among the Catharians themselves of after times. They differed, that is, either as they supposed that the evil principle was a spirit originally evil or a spirit originally good, but who by virtue of his free-will had apostatized from God, though he would finally be recovered again to goodness. According to the doctrine of this latter class, the spirit, clothed at the beginning with the supreme power, the elder of the two sons of the Supreme God, revolted against the Father, and produced the visible world with the intention of founding in it an independent kingdom. The younger spirit, Christ, remained loyal to God, and took the other's place. Christ will destroy the kingdom of the evil one, and prosecute his redeeming work until the general restitution.* If we might credit the report of Michael Psellus, one party of the Euchites made the evil spirit himself an object of worship; but this is altogether unlikely.† The character of such a party, we might safely

* Something akin to the doctrine of these Euchites is to be found in the apocryphal gospel by John, which sprung up among the Bogomiles, and was brought by the Catharists of Bulgaria into France, published last by Philo in the first volume of his valuable work, the *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*. We shall have more to say on this subject in the history of the following periods, when we more carefully explain the doctrine of the Bogomiles and of the different parties of the Catharists.

† A transition-point to the formation of such a party, if such a party ever existed, or an occasion for the report that such a party actually existed, is to be found in what Michael Psellus cites as a principle entertained by the better class of Euchites: τὸν πρεσβύτερον (the Satanael) οὐκ ἀτιμάζοντες (perhaps we should read: οὐ τιμῶντες) μὲν, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς κακοποιεῖν δυνάμενον, see pag. 9. This agrees with what, according to the report of Euthymius Zigabenus, Basilus, the teacher of the Bogomiles, in the twelfth century, cited from an apocryphal gospel, as the words of Christ: τιμᾶτε τὰ διαμόνια οὐχ' ἵνα ὠφελήθητε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ βλάψωσιν ὑμᾶς. Satanael and his angels have the dominion of the world; whoever therefore would acquire earthly goods and avert earthly calamities, needed their assistance.

presume, would be thoroughly immoral, as the natural result of their principle; and it would be exclusively to this party we should have to refer what Michael Psellus relates concerning the immoral excesses nightly committed after the extinguishing of the lights, in the secret assemblies of these sects.* But as the same stories are to be met with in every age concerning the secret meetings of sects stigmatized as heretical, they must ever be considered as extremely liable to suspicion. It is possible that the Euchites, by their knowledge of some of the hidden powers of nature, particularly of magnetism, may have been able to produce effects which excited the wonder of beholders.† The sect seems to have had a regular constitution; their presiding officers were called apostles.‡ Even at this early period, the sect was threatened with a persecution from Constantinople, and an imperial commissioner was appointed and despatched to carry it into effect.§

In *this* period, we obtain also more exact information respecting the sect of Athinganians; and we find the remarks already made in the third volume concerning the derivation and meaning of this name, confirmed; but we must modify the remarks then made touching the relationship of this sect with the Paulicians. It is clear that this sect, which

* L. c. pag. 21.

† P. 69 cites the example of a woman who, in a paroxysm in which she was set by a wizard from Armenia, made use of the Armenian language, before unknown to her, then fell asleep, and afterwards had no further consciousness of what befel her. We leave it for others, who have more carefully examined the phenomena of magnetism and somnambulism, to judge of this story. We mention it only on account of its analogy with phenomena of both older and later times (comp. e. g. a similar story in the book of Pomponatius de naturalium effectuum admirandorum causis, p. 142 et seq.), and as hinting at the means which such sects may have employed.

‡ P. 18: τοῖς προέστωσι τοῦ δόγματος, εἰς οὓς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων καταρρέαπτουσι προσηγορίαν. In this there lies a resemblance to the Manichæans; and to the Paulicians, inasmuch as the latter were fond of giving apostolic names to the leaders and teachers of their sect.

§ If Michael Psellus represents himself under the name of "the Thracian," then he is himself the person who was charged to look after the Euchites, and he thence obtained his knowledge of the sect. He states here that, in a paroxysm of "enthusiasm," the leader of the sect predicted that a certain person whom he described as Michael Psellus, then unknown to him, would be sent to persecute them.

had its principal seat in the city of Amorion, in Upper Phrygia, where many Jews resided, sprung out of a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. They united baptism with the observance of all the rites of Judaism, circumcision excepted. We may perhaps recognize in them a branch of the older Judaizing sects; and it is possible that the sect, against which Paul contends in the epistle to the Colossians,* had been able to maintain itself until this time in Phrygia.†

Such sects, springing up in the East, extended themselves, amid the confusions of the tenth century, into the West.‡ Many indications denote a diffusion of them from Italy; nor indeed can there be any doubt that the seeds of such sects had found their way into Italy from Greece and the adjacent districts. The corruption of the clergy furnished the heretics a most important vantage-ground from which to attack the dominant church and its sacraments. The ignorance of the people on religious subjects exposed them to be continually deceived by those who were seeking, on whatever side, to work upon the minds of the multitude. The fickle populace were excited sometimes by the fiery appeals of the heretics, whose rigid, abstemious lives had won their respect, to abhorrence of their corrupt clergy, and to enthusiasm for their new teachers; and sometimes, by the influence of the clergy, to fanatical fury against the heretics, who were represented as utterly irreligious and godless men. The awakened spirit of inquiry among the clergy of France in the eleventh century procured ready admittance also among them for attacks upon the church doctrine. Amid the confusions of this century, such heretics—merely from the admiration they inspired by their strict, unmarried life, their abstinence from all animal food and intoxicating drinks—might become objects of veneration, while, by reason of their outward compliance with the observances of the church, they could propagate themselves without being known or disturbed. Thus we find them emerging

* Col. ii. 21, et seq.

† The passage we here avail ourselves of is in Constant. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. l. II. c. 3. f. 27. ed. Paris.

‡ Certainly not less evident than the oneness of the Euchites of the eleventh, and the Bogomiles of the twelfth century, is the derivation from these of the sects that emerged in the Western church during the eleventh century.

at once in the eleventh century, in countries the most diverse, and the most remote from each other, in Italy, France, and even to the Harz districts in Germany.* Some resemblance which was observed between these heretics and the Manichæans, so far as the latter were known from the reports of the older church fathers, was sufficient to cause them all to be branded with the name of Manichæans. To form any correct notion of the doctrines of a sect at war with the church, according as those doctrines were really connected together in the system of such a sect, to make any just discrimination between doctrines which were kindred and doctrines which were foreign to the system, was a thing utterly beyond the reach of the best capacities of those times. Hence we can expect no more than meagre notices touching the sects of this period.

In the eleventh century, connected with the church at Orleans, stood a flourishing institution for theological education, which threatened to become a seminary for the spread of false doctrines, the ecclesiastics who presided over it having become tinctured with them. For a long time already, the heretical tendency had been acquiring strength among them, without any notice being taken of it, as the clergy, who were seeking to bring their doctrines into general circulation, used great caution, and imparted them to those only whom, after suitable preparation, they found capable of receiving them. Thus it came about, that one of the canonical priests of the church at Orleans, the Precentor Adeodat (Dieudonné), a member of this sect, died in the communion of the church; and not till three years after his death (when by circumstances presently to be mentioned the heretical tendency which here prevailed was discovered), this person was found to have been the promoter of it; when his bones were commanded to be

* For in the Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus it is stated, at year 1052, that when the emperor Henry III. was celebrating Christmas in Goslar, quosdam ibi hæreticos Manichæos, omnis esum animalis execrantes, consensu omnium, ne hæretica scabies serperet in plures, in patibulo suspendi fecit. Canisii lectiones antiquæ, ed. Basnage, T. III. f. 272. The aversion to eating flesh, as well as their opinion that it was sinful to destroy animal life, sufficiently proves their oriental origin. When a bishop required them to slaughter a cock, they refused. See the *Acta episcoporum Leodiensium* in Martene et Durand collectio amplissima, T. IV. f. 902.

dug up and removed, as those of a heretic, from consecrated ground.* While *other* ecclesiastics, awakened by the influence of Augustin, and more especially of St. Paul, placed the doctrines of grace and of redemption, and of the sanctification of human nature grounded therein, in opposition to the superstitious reliance on sacraments and the worship of saints, on holiness of works, and whatever else furnished a prop to security in sin; *these* ecclesiastics likewise joined indeed in the same opposition, but the opposition in their case possessed the character of a *rationalizing, mystical tendency*; and it is easy to see how a tendency of this sort might spontaneously manifest itself, especially among ecclesiastics of a certain culture, without any need of supposing that they had received an impulse from sects which sprung up in the Oriental church. Hence we should be authorised to regard that report of the trial held upon the members of this sect, which is the fullest in its details, and which makes no mention at all of its Manichæanism,† as the most correct account; and the other accounts of contemporaries,‡ by whom this sect is described as Manichæan, might be attributed to a misconception, arising from the fact that men were accustomed to consider the peculiarities which, in many appearances of the sectarian history of these times, were found to be held in common, to be common to *them all*; a mistake not unfrequently committed in attempting to grasp together the several phenomena of a particular period. Yet, at the same time, since even in the above-mentioned report of the trial held upon these ecclesiastics, which says not a word of their Manichæanism, some of their opinions are noticed, which admit of being most easily referred to a Gnostic or Manichæan mode of thinking, and since the origin of the sect is traced to Italy,§ which would confirm the supposition of its

* This is related by a contemporary, monk Ademar of Angoulême, in his chronicle, year 1025, in Labbe Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum, T. II.

† The gesta Synodi Aurelianensis in D'Achery, Spicilegia, T. I. f. 604, also another contemporary, Glaber Rudolph, III. 8, say not a word of their Manichæanism.

‡ As in the above-cited Chronicle of Ademar, and in the fragment published by Du Chesne in the 6th vol. of his Scriptores rerum Francar. Historia Aquitania, f. 81.

§ Glaber Rudolph names an Italian woman as the person who imported the seeds of these doctrines into France, and during a long residence in

external connection with the sects of the Greek church; and since a mystical, rationalizing tendency of the same sort was a feature by no means uncommon in those Gnostic and Manichæan sects, it still remains the most probable conjecture, that it was through the immediate influence of some such sect that opposition to the church doctrine was first excited among the canonical clergy at Orleans.

The sect at Orleans combated the doctrine of Christ's supernatural birth, as a thing contrary to the laws of nature. That which contradicts the laws of nature, they asserted, can find no existence in creation.* This, however, is not so to be understood as if they admitted the reality of the birth of Jesus, but denied the supernatural circumstances attending it; but they denied the reality of the birth of Jesus in the same sense as they denied the reality of his passion and of his resurrection. As an argument in favour of their opinion, they adduced, what was assumed by their opponents, namely, that Christ was born of a virgin; for, as this would be impossible, the reality of the birth was disproved by its character. Their doctrine of Christ's humanity bordered, therefore, without any doubt, upon Docetism, or was *altogether* docetical.† If we find the doctrine ascribed to them by Glaberius Rudolphus, that heaven and earth had always existed as they now are, yet we should remember that the report of a writer, who did not understand their system, and who presents everything in the worst colours, must fall very short of establishing the fact that they took an altogether pantheistic view of the world; on the contrary, we have more reason to believe that their opposition to the church doctrine of the creation from nothing, an opposition which proceeded from some oriental doctrine of emanation combined with Dualism, that this opposition, wrongly understood and perverted, gave occasion to this charge. In consistency with their docetic views of the human nature of Jesus, they could not of course believe in any communication of the

Orleans spread them abroad; particularly among the ecclesiastics of that city.

* So they said at their trial, according to the above-mentioned report in D'Achery: Quod natura denegat, semper a creatione discrepat.

† We shall have no more to say on this subject till we come to the doctrine of the Bogomiles and the Catharists in the following periods.

body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; and their opposition to the church doctrine being based on mysticism would necessarily affect, in a particular manner, the doctrine concerning mass. They rejected also the sacrament of baptism with water, probably explaining it as the baptism of John, a teacher who was ignorant of the perfect, supreme God, and of his kingdom: * but they substituted in its place a baptism of the Spirit, which was to be connected with the imposition of hands, as the symbol of initiation into their sect; and this again evidences their relationship to oriental sects and to the later Catharians. This rite was certainly the same thing with what was designated among these sects by the term *consolamentum* (form of communication of the *Comforter*, the *Paraclete*). By virtue of this imposition of hands, whoever submitted to it in a suitable frame of mind would be filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and purified from all sin; he would be made capable thereby, for the first time, of rightly understanding the deep things of Scripture. With a spiritual baptism, they held also to a spiritual eucharist, by which those who had received this baptism would be refreshed, and find all their spiritual needs completely satisfied. † Whoever had once tasted of this heavenly food, said they, would abide steadfastly in the truth, and resist all temptations to apostasy. ‡ Whoever received this baptism and this eucharist would enjoy the sight of angels, and partake of high revelations; § nothing would be

* See e. g. the Apocryphal gospel of John in Thilo's *Apocryphen*. T. I. p. 893.

† *Cœlesti cibo pastus, interna satietate recreatus*. Comp. the doctrine of the Paulicians, and the apocryphal gospel of John.

‡ The high virtues which they ascribed to this heavenly food, joined to the rumours ever afloat respecting the assemblies of heretical sects, gave origin to the story that the ashes of a child murdered and burnt constituted this wonderful food, of which every member of the sect partook, and which was possessed of such magical virtue that a person who had once partaken of it, never became an apostate. When they spoke of an intercourse with higher spirits, which those enjoyed who had received their baptism and their eucharist, all they said about such apparitions was taken as literally true; and so it came about here as it did in Michael Psellus' account of the Euchites—evil spirits were substituted for good ones, and the story arose that evil spirits appeared in their assemblies, and that the murdered child was born from intercourse with them.

§ Just as the Euchites taught.

wanting to him, for God, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom, would be with him.

Two ecclesiastics, Lisoï (Lisieux) and Stephen, who by their piety, their active benevolence, and their knowledge, had attained to high eminence and consideration both among the people and the great nobles, stood at the head of this sect. Stephen had been confessor to queen Constantia. Already had they made considerable progress in extending the sect from the school existing at Orleans, into the neighbouring towns, when, by a singular circumstance, the whole thing was discovered.* Heribert, a young ecclesiastic from the castle of a certain nobleman of Normandy, named Arefast, had been won over to the doctrines of the sect while pursuing his studies at the school in Orleans, and through him they came to the knowledge of his liege lord Arefast. The latter took measures to make king Robert of France aware of the danger that threatened the Catholic faith. For the purpose of tracing out the sect, and securing the means of convicting the guilty, Arefast was now directed to repair to Orleans, and to represent himself to the leaders as one who was desirous of being initiated into their mysteries. They fell into the snare, and deceived by the assurances of Arefast, gradually divulged all their doctrines to the man who was abusing their confidence for the purpose of plunging them in ruin. He immediately made his report to the king. In the year 1022, the king himself came to Orleans, where a numerous synod had assembled to try and pass sentence on the sect. Fallen upon during one of its secret meetings, of which information had been given by Arefast, all who were found present were arrested, together with Arefast himself, and conveyed in chains before the spiritual tribunal, where also the king and the queen assisted. The leaders of the sect endeavoured at first to evade the questions proposed to them; but Arefast, who continued to play his assumed part, was employed to draw them out. When the

* According to the report of Glaber Rudolph, an attempt of theirs to win over a priest of Rouen, who resisted their efforts and betrayed them, led to the detection of the sect. This may have been so; but at all events, the report of the Gesta, published by D'Achery, which we follow, is the most exact one; and the deviations from it in the story of Glaber Rudolph may be easily explained as having arisen from the want of a better knowledge of the particular circumstances.

latter presented before them the doctrines they had taught him, they no longer hesitated to avow openly their adherence to them; but declared, "Think not that this sect, because ye have so lately come to the knowledge of it, has sprung up within a short period. For a long time we have professed these doctrines, and we expected that these doctrines would one day be admitted by you and by all others,—this we believe still."* When it was attempted to convince them of their errors, and in particular to state before them the doctrine of the creation from nothing, they replied: "Present such doctrines to men of earthly minds, to such as believe the ordinances of your dead Scripture learning. We have a higher law, one written by the Holy Spirit in the inner man; we can believe nothing but that which God, the Creator of all things, has revealed to us. Do with us as you please; already we behold our king reigning in heaven, whose right hand shall exalt us to an eternal triumph, and crown us with celestial joys." Except in the case of one ecclesiastic and one nun, all the pains which were taken to reclaim them from their errors, in other words, to induce them to recant, were to no purpose. The others, thirteen in number, were condemned to the stake, and died there.

Yet surely these doctrines were already too widely disseminated, to leave any reasonable ground for the expectation that a tendency of this sort would be suppressed by the death of a few individuals. It is very probable that we may perceive the influence of this sect among the ecclesiastics and monks in certain hints contained in a letter of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, to the abbot Adeodat, where he inveighs against the corrupt tendency of those carnally minded men who represented the sacraments as toys, holding it to be impossible that outward and earthly ordinances could produce any such effects as were ascribed to these forms.†

* Hoc diu est, quod sectam, quam vos jam tarde agnoscitis amplectimur, sed tam vos quam cæteros cujuscunque legis vel ordines in eam cadere expectavimus, quod etiam adhuc fore credimus, according to the citation of Glaber Rudolph.

† Quoniam comperimus, aliquos nimis carnaliter intuentes quædam horum, in quibus nostræ salutis mysterium constat, tanquam inania aut otiosa deputare, hos a tam perniciosæ opinionis vanitate revocatus permoveremus. Fulberti, ep. 1 ad Adeodatum ed. de Villiers. Paris, 1608.

Some years later, a sect was discovered in the districts of Arras and Liege, which, as well by its origin, having been traced to people who came from Italy, and particularly to Gundulph an Italian, as by the peculiarity of its doctrines, betrays its connection also with those Oriental sects. Thus, for example, they utterly rejected wedlock, and held the unmarried life to be absolutely necessary in order to a participation in the kingdom of heaven; from which we may infer, though we know nothing more about the doctrines of the sect on this subject, that these notions had originated in such theories touching the origin of the corporeal world and the banishment of souls into it, and touching the character of original sin,* as led to these results in their system of morality. The persons in Arras who were arrested as followers of this sect, seem to have been uneducated people of the lower class, who had perhaps appropriated no more of their doctrines than what was purely practical, and most consentaneous to the natural understanding and to the moral feelings, otherwise, they dared not express openly their theoretical convictions. Like the others just mentioned, they were for removing everything out of the way which could serve as a substitute for one's own moral efforts, or as an excuse for moral inactivity. Each man, said they, must be holy by his own act and within himself—by that alone, and not by any magical operation of the sacraments, can man become pure. Outward baptism and the outward eucharist are nothing. To show the inefficacy of baptism, they pointed to the immoral lives of the clergy who performed the ceremony, to the immoral lives of the persons baptized, and to the fact that in the children on whom baptism was performed not one of the conditions was to be found upon

* They explained, namely, the marriage intercourse between Adam and Eve as the first sin into which the apostate spirit Satanael enticed mankind. In this way he succeeded to bind fast their spirits in the corporeal world, as well as to cause their propagation in this state of bondage. The genuine disciples of Christ, male and female, ought therefore to live together only in spiritual fellowship. From Luke xx. 34, 35, they would make it out that only the children of this world married, but such as would become partakers of the kingdom of God must prove themselves to belong to it, and to be destined for the resurrection, by leading a life estranged from sense, and like that of the angels. See the apocryphal Gospel, p. 894, and Moneta adversus Catharos, ed. Ricchini. Romæ, 1743. l. IV. c. 7, fol. 319.

which such efficacy must depend; no consciousness, no will, no faith, no confession. The doctrines which they had received from Gundulf, agreed in all respects, as they affirmed, with the doctrines of Christ and of the Apostles. It consisted in this, to forsake the world, to overcome the flesh, to support one's self by the labour of one's own hands, to injure no one, to show love to all the brethren. Whoever practised this, needed no baptism; where it failed, baptism could not supply its place. From these doctrines, we might be led to suppose that these people had imbibed thoroughly Pelagian principles, and opposed legal morality and moral self-sufficiency to the Augustinian doctrine of the church. The bishop so understood them, and hence unfolded to them in opposition to these tenets, Augustin's doctrine of grace; but the theory of Augustin is directly at variance with the doctrine of that whole race of sectarians touching redemption as a communication of divine life to the spirits held bound in the corporeal world, touching the consolamentum, and all that is connected therewith. Even here then we find the practical consequences alone avowed by them, separated from the dogmatic grounds, from which they were derived. They were also opposed to the worship of saints and of relics, and ridiculed the stories told about the wonders performed by them. But it is singular to observe, that they at the same time held to the worship of the apostles and martyrs, which probably they interpreted however in accordance with their other doctrines, and in a different manner from what was customary in the church. They were opposed, like the Paulicians, to the worship of the cross, and of images, they spoke against the efficacy of the priestly consecration, the value of a consecrated altar, and of a consecrated church. The church, said they, is nothing but a pile of stones heaped together; the church has no advantage whatever over any hut where the divine Being is worshipped. They, like the older Euchites, denounced church psalmody as a superstitious practice. People belonging to this sect, had first broached their doctrines in the territory about Liege.* They were arrested and brought up for trial, but succeeded by their explanations

* If D'Achery's conjecture is correct, that the bishop R., to whom the synodal letter of the archbishop Gerhard I. of Cambray is directed, was bishop Reginald of Liege.

in deceiving the bishop. They were released, and then referred to this public justification to prove that it was impossible to convict them of any erroneous doctrine; and this served to procure for them a more general hearing. When they had spread to Cambray and Arras, and the archbishop had obtained such information as sufficed to convict them, they at first denied, even under torture, the false doctrines imputed to them,* till they were forced to confession by the testimony of a few individuals, to whom they had disclosed their opinions. The archbishop, in the year 1025, assembled a synod at Arras, before which the arrested members of the sect were compelled to make their appearance. After having entered upon an examination of their doctrines, he addressed to them a discourse in refutation of these tenets and in defence of the Catholic faith.† They declared themselves convinced by this discourse, and were prevailed on, most probably by the fear of death, to subscribe a recantation with the cross; thus they found it a very easy matter to obtain the absolution of the bishop.‡ The only effect was to make them more cautious in the propagation of their tenets, and in this way they probably contrived to maintain their sect for a somewhat longer period. In the later times of the eleventh century a sect of this sort once more made its appearance in the same diocese of Cambray and Arras. The archbishop Gerhard II. heard that a man by the name of Ramihed preached many heretical doctrines, and had found great acceptance with men and women. When seized and brought before the archbishop he so adroitly answered every question proposed to him touching life and doctrine, that no advantage could be gained over him. For this reason he was subjected to a closer examination before a synod in Cambray. But here also he testified his orthodoxy on every point; the archbishop therefore simply required of him, that he should receive the holy eucharist in testimony of his innocence.§ To

* As doubtless may be inferred from the words, *ut nullis suppliciis possent cogi ad confessionem*. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* T. I. f. 607.

† Either in the language of the country, or else the Latin discourse was translated to them on the spot in the vernacular tongue, as well as the confession and the formulary of condemnation, which were pronounced in Latin.

‡ See the synodal letter of the bishop, cited in D'Achery, l. c.

§ See respecting this test of innocence, p. 147.

this, however, he refused to consent, declaring that he could take the eucharist neither from the hand of abbot, of priest, nor of the bishop himself, because they were all guilty of simony, or of covetousness under some form or other. This sufficed to arouse against him the indignation of the clergy, who at once declared him a heretic. It is clear, however, that a process of this sort furnishes no ground for a certain judgment respecting the doctrines of this person. It may be that he belonged to the class of sects which came from the East, and that conformably to their principles he felt justified in resorting to deception for the purpose of escaping out of the hands of his judges; but it is also possible, that he really had nothing in common with those sects, and that he had risen up entirely independent of them. Perhaps we may find in this case the indication of a separatistic reaction, a spontaneous movement of the Christian consciousness, of the pure interest of Christian piety against the corruption of the clergy: such a reaction as would in fact be necessarily called forth by Hildebrand's plan of reformation.* At all events, we may at least see in this example, how the complaints against a simoniacal clergy, which by the measures of the last popes had become generally known and were freely circulated among the laity, encouraged and facilitated the spread of sects opposed to the dominant church. The secretary of whom we are speaking was hunted down as a heretic by the fanatical vengeance of the populace; when seized, he followed his pursuers patiently and without fear. He was confined in a cabin; and while prostrated on the ground in prayer, a torch was applied to the building, and he was consumed in the flames. But as he had gained many followers by the purity of his life, so the enthusiasm of his friends would only be increased by the mode of his death. They gathered up his bones and his ashes, which they honoured as relics. His followers continued to multiply in the towns of this district till into the twelfth century, especially among the weavers, an occupation which, from its peculiar character, has ever been a favourite resort of mystical sects.†

Though by means of those sects which came from the East,

* See above, p. 52.

† The authority for this representation is the second appendix to Balderick's Chronicle, edition of Le Glay. Paris, 1834, p. 356, etc.

many errors were propagated among the laity, yet their influence was in some respects advantageous. They awakened in the ignorant and uninstructed people, who had been misled by incompetent priests to place the essence of religion in a round of ceremonies, a more lively interest in spiritual concerns,—called up in them the idea of a divine life, presented religion to them more as a matter of inward experience, and perhaps too, since this was the peculiar bent of the Paulicians, made them better acquainted with the Scriptures; for there can be little doubt that by means of the Paulicians, translations of particular portions of Scripture were already circulated among the laity. And when the laity, thus awakened, spoke from their own religious experience, when in the attitude of polemics, and combating the additions foreign to Bible Christianity in the doctrine of the church, they were able to bring forward their arguments from the teachings of Christ and the apostles, it is easy to see how superior they would prove in disputation to the ignorant and incompetent clergy. Men could not fail to be struck with admiration at seeing uneducated, ignorant people, after they had received such doctrines able to discourse with great fluency on religious things, and even to put to silence the regular ecclesiastics.*

When archbishop Heribert of Milan, who administered this office from 1027 to 1046, came to Turin, in a tour of visitation through his archiepiscopal diocese, he heard of a sect, which had its principal seat in the neighbouring fortress of Montfort, where it was particularly favoured by the nobles, as well as by the mistress of the place—a countess, and which was widely diffused among clergy and laity.† He summoned Gerhard, the presiding functionary of the sect, though in fact he proved to be only a subordinate, and hinted of other supe-

* In a report relating to the spread of such a sect, whose tenets, the consolamentum, celibacy in strict abstinence, the sparing even of animal life, point clearly to an oriental origin, it is said: *Si quos idiotas et infacundos hujus erroris sectatoribus adjungi contingeret statim eruditissimis etiam catholicis facundiores fieri.* From a letter of Roger II., bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne (Catalaunum), in the *Gestis episcoporum Leodiensium*, in Martene and Durand's *Scriptorum et monumentorum collectio amplissima*, Tom. IV. c. 59, f. 899.

† The most exact account is in Arnulph, senior hist. Mediolanens. l. II. c. 27, in Muratori *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, T. IV.—nothing but the fabulous in Glaber Rudolph. IV. 2.

riors (majores),* to appear before him, and give an account of himself. At first the respondent so accommodated himself to the phraseology of the church orthodoxy, that he might easily have been taken for an orthodox man; but when the archbishop pressed him more closely, and made him explain the sense of his words, he soon found that Gerhard attached to the same language a very different meaning from that of the church. The Son of God, said he, is the soul beloved, enlightened of God; the Holy Spirit is the devout and true understanding of the sacred Scriptures. The birth of Jesus from the Virgin, his conception by the Holy Ghost, denotes the birth of the divine life in the soul from the holy Scriptures, by means of that right understanding of them, proceeding from a divine light, which is designated by the Holy Spirit. According to this it should seem, that the mystical-idealist element, which we find existing among these sects generally, had in this case been carried out in a more consistent and uncompromising manner than in other cases; that they pushed their idealism to such an extent as to consider the whole history of Christ as a myth, that Christ and his entire history was to them nothing but a symbol of the development of the divine life in each individual man. It is quite possible, however, that with this mystical, symbolical interpretation of our Saviour's history, as referring to Christ in the soul, Christ as he must be formed in every believer,—they by no means denied the objective reality of the history of which they made this application. At any rate, we here recognize a coincidence of views with the Bogomiles, who called the soul of the enlightened man the true *θεοτόκος*, and also with those older pantheistic Euchites, of whom we spoke in the history of the second period. The same character of a mystico-idealist tendency is expressed also in everything else said by this Gerhard. Thus he declared they had a priest—not that Roman one, but another—who daily visited their brethren scattered through the world; and when God bestowed him on them, they received from him, with great devoutness, the forgiveness of sin. Besides this priest, who was without the

* That this sect was not domesticated in Italy, but connected with a foreign stock, is evident from the following remark of Laudolph respecting it: *ipsi a qua orbis parte in Italia fuissent eventi insecii.*

tonsure, they knew of no other, nor did they acknowledge any other sacrament than his absolution. Thus we find in this sect, as in that at Orleans, the consciousness of a fellowship extending through different countries. By their priest they doubtless meant the Holy Spirit, which formed the invisible bond of this fellowship, and bestowed on them the inward cleansing from remaining sin, and the inward consecration of the divine life. This inward working of the divine Spirit stood to them in the place of all sacraments. As they refused to know of any other priest than this inward one, so they refused to know of any other sacrament than that which this inward priest imparted. This sect rejected marriage. The married persons admitted among them were ever after to live together in spiritual fellowship alone. If all men followed the same rule, they believed the human race would be propagated in a spiritual manner, and cease to inherit a perishable nature. As they probably ascribed the fact of the union of the soul and a material body to a fall, so they looked upon the end of life as a purification from that which is foreign, freedom from sense, penitence. Their life was to be a life of prayer and of rigid abstinence, with the relinquishment of earthly possessions. The sufferings to which they were exposed on account of their doctrines, they encountered cheerfully, considering them as means of expiating sins committed before and in the present life, and of thus preparing them to return, purified, into the society of the higher world of spirits. Those therefore who were deprived of the privilege of dying as martyrs, died cheerfully under self-inflicted tortures.*

The archbishop despatched a party of soldiers to the fortress, and thus succeeded in getting a number of these sectarians into his hands. He caused them to be conveyed to Milan. There, contrary as it is said to the archbishop's will, the prisoners were led to the stake, and it was left to their choice either to bow before a cross erected on the spot and confess the Catholic faith, or to die. Some chose to do the former; but the majority, placing their hands before their faces, plunged into the flames.

Though most appearances of this sort are to be traced to

* Just as we find that the Catharists of a later period starved themselves to death (the *endura*), and poisoned themselves.

an impulse derived from sects which originated in the East, yet we find indications of heretical tendencies that are to be traced to other quarters. We ought not to be surprised to learn that the revived study of the ancient Latin authors in the ninth, and particularly in the eleventh century, called forth in many an antagonism of the cultivated understanding to the dominant church doctrine, and engendered many opinions, which were regarded as heretical. Probus, a man of the ninth century, who in the monastery of Fulda had occupied himself a good deal with these studies, and afterwards became a priest at Mayence, found it difficult after meeting with so much that was good in these writers to conceive how the better class among the heathen should all be damned, especially where by no fault of their own they were deprived of the opportunity of coming to faith in the Redeemer.* He was inclined to the opinion that the effects of Christ's redemptive sufferings, and of his descensus ad inferos, extended also to the better class among the heathen. And if with this view he united, as it seems that he did, the doctrine of absolute predestination, the whole would probably shape itself somewhat after the same manner as the view which was afterwards entertained by Zwingli, that in the divine decrees of predestination are embraced all those who, before they have had opportunity of hearing anything about the gospel, give tokens in the development of their moral nature, of that agency of the divine Spirit, that preparatory grace, without which nothing good can be done. Now had it not been the good fortune of this Probus to be connected with a man of so mild and liberal spirit as the abbot Servatus Lupus, he might easily have been stigmatized as a heretic for expressing such an opinion. Thus it was reported of a grammarian, Bilgard of Ravenna, belonging to the first part of the eleventh century, who had been much occupied with such studies,† that evil

* Servatus Lupus says of him (ep. 20): Ciceronem et Virgilium cæterosque opinione ejus probatissimos viros in electorum collegium admittat, ne frustra Dominus sanguinem fuderit et in inferno otium triverit, si verum sit illud propheticum: ero mors tua, o mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne. Hosea xiii. 14.

† Worthy of notice is what Glaber Rudolph says (II. 12): Sicut Italis semper mos fuit, artes negligere cæteras (therefore to neglect also the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the church fathers) illam (Grammaticam) sectari.

spirits haunted him, in the shapes of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal; and that, beguiled by their influence, he had taught many things contrary to the Catholic faith, holding that those ancient authors were to be believed in everything. In this tale, where fact is mixed up with fable, it is impossible, to be sure, to separate with certainty the truth from the fiction; but we may hold it as extremely probable that this Bilgard had been led by his ardent study of the ancient authors, and by his fondness for them, to embrace many opinions considered as heretical, and on this account he was condemned to death. According to the testimony of Glaberius Rudolph, it would be necessary to suppose that the predilection for paganism had given birth at the same time to similar heretical tendencies throughout Italy, and in Sardinia; and he informs us that the individuals accused of these tendencies were some of them beheaded, while others died at the stake.* But it is quite possible that this writer had not clearly discriminated the heretical appearances, and that we must suppose such to be here meant as had proceeded from the oriental influence.† Since the oriental sects spread from the Greek church to Italy, and from thence to France, the Netherlands, and Germany; so they may have spread also, in another direction, from Italy to Sardinia, and so onward to Spain.

Already in the preceding volume, we cited examples of half-witted enthusiasts, who found followers among the rude populace in France. This was the source of another opposition to the church. An example of the same kind occurs at the beginning of the eleventh century, in the person of an individual by the name of Leuthard, who appeared among

* *Plures per Italiam tempore hujus pestiferi dogmatis reperti quique ipsi aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt.*

† In the case of Sardinia, we might, if Glaber Rudolph's story is correct, suppose with Gieseler that there was here a reaction of paganism; for, as we learn from the letters of Gregory the Great, paganism maintained its ground in this island longer than elsewhere. But when he says that persons from Sardinia spread these false doctrines in Spain, *partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes*, we must assuredly believe, if the case were so, that oriental rather than pagan doctrines are here meant. Perhaps Glaber Rudolph took no pains to distinguish the different heretical appearances, and he may have confounded with others of an earlier date those which had proceeded from the oriental sects; for how is it possible to suppose that pagan doctrines could get admittance into Spain more than elsewhere.

the country people of Chalons-sur-Marne, if we may rely with entire confidence on the report of Glaber Rudolph.* From the accounts given of him, he would seem to have been a man who united enthusiasm with a naturally dogmatic understanding, fond of speculating, according to its own narrow views, on divine things—a psychological phenomenon of no rare occurrence. Once, exhausted with toil, he fell asleep in the field, where, as he imagined, he had a miraculous vision. Returning home, he informed his wife that, by the command of the gospel, he must separate from her.† After this he went to a church to pray, and finding there a cross and an image of Christ, demolished them both; not certainly out of spite to Christianity, for he himself appealed to the sacred Scriptures, but most probably because he imagined he saw in them something that savoured of idolatry. He gave out that he acted in this case by a special divine revelation, and he was believed by the multitude of ignorant country people. He told the people they were under no obligation to pay tithes to the church, and in support of all he said quoted the testimony of the Scriptures; yet he is said to have taught, at the same time, that the testimony of the Scriptures was not to be received on all subjects; that the prophets had delivered some things which were profitable, and some which could not be believed. The bishop Gebuin afterwards succeeded in undeceiving the people; and his mild and prudent course wins our esteem. He put down Gerhard as a maniac, and gave himself no further concern about him. The latter, on finding himself deserted by his followers, and disappointed in his ambitious projects, threw himself into a well.

There are many particulars, however, in this story calculated to excite doubt. It is strange, that in these times a person should be found among the country people who must have read the Bible, at least in part, and who was able to perceive the contradictions between what the sacred Scriptures taught and the prevailing customs of the church. He must have received a translation, at least, of many parts of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, since the Latin could then be no longer understood by the people in France. Now

* II. 11.

† Quasi ex præcepto evangelio fecit divortium.

it is possible indeed, that, with a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, this person may have united partly the suggestions of a dogmatizing understanding—no rare thing, even where there is a want of intellectual balance—and partly an enthusiastic imagination. It may be that partly disappointed ambition, and partly insanity led him to commit suicide; but it is possible, also, that we have in this case a perverted, spiteful representation of facts, and that his death, which may really have been brought about by the fanatical hatred of heretics, was represented by his enemies as an act of suicide. Again, it is to be remembered that it was by means of those oriental sects that the Scriptures were diffused among laymen, and that such sects had found admittance in the district of Chalons-sur-Marne.* The dissolving of the marriage tie by the supposed command of the gospel, the hostility to the sign of the cross and to images, the appeal to inward revelations, all this is in perfect harmony with the character of those sects, and hence it remains to be questioned, whether we may not recognize, in *this* appearance, a mark of their influence.

Touching the mode of procedure against false teachers, it is to be observed, that it was Byzantine despotism which set the example of enforcing conviction by the faggot and the sword. The Western church had originally declared itself, though not with perfect consistency of principles, opposed to such a procedure, and to all application of capital punishments to heretics; but the fanaticism of this age found no punishment too severe for those who were regarded as godless outcasts, and the clergy in this case followed the general current of the times, and from common practice grew up the theory of the ecclesiastical law, which was also supported by the grand mistake of confounding together the different positions of the Old and New Testaments. The fanatical fury of the people having been once aroused against heretics, and an abstemious life having come to be regarded as a characteristic mark of heretics who sprung from oriental sects, those men who distinguished themselves by the rigid severity of their lives were extremely liable to incur the opprobrium of heresy; insomuch that a writer of these times could say, that a pallid face was looked upon by the people as a sure

* See above, p. 364.

sign of heresy, and that many good Catholics had fallen victims, with heretics, to the blind fury of the mob.* There was one man, however, who stood manfully forth against the unchristian spirit of the times, Wazo, bishop of Liege, who lived till the year 1047. He belonged to that better class of bishops, who devoted themselves with a truly earnest and unwearied zeal to the good of their flocks. He may stand beside Theodore Studita, and Peter Damiani, as a representative of the genuinely Christian spirit in contradistinction to the prevailing principles. When, during the spread of these false teachers in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne, his opinion was asked respecting the proper mode of proceeding with such persons, he gave the following: Though such doctrines must be condemned as unchristian, yet after the example of our Saviour, who was meek and humble of spirit, who came not to strive or to cry, Matth. xii. 19, but rather to endure shame and the death of the cross, we, too, are bound to bear with such men. The parable of the wheat and the tares teaches us what should be done with such persons, according to the will of our compassionate Lord, who condemns not sinners at once, but waits with long-suffering for their repentance. By the servants, who were for instantly pulling up the tares as soon as they appeared, are to be understood overhasty priests. Our Lord here recommends to them patience towards their erring neighbours; especially since they who belong to-day to the tares may to-morrow be converted, and bring forth good fruit. "And let us beware ourselves," says Wazo to the bishops, "lest while we think of exercising justice, by inflicting punishment on the wicked, we may be counteracting the purposes of Him who wills not the death of a sinner, but seeks, by patience and long-suffering, to bring them back to repentance. Let these men be reserved, then, to the last harvest of the great Master of the house, as we ourselves also must wait for his sentence with fear and trembling; for the Almighty God can make those who now

* See the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, published by Martene and Durand, in the *Collectio amplissima*, T. IV. c. 50, where, concerning the *præceps Francigenarum rabies cædis, hanelare solita*, it is said: *Eos solo pallore notare hæreticos, quasi quos pallere constaret, hæreticos esse certum esset sicque per errorem simulque furorem eorum plerosque vere Catholicorum fuisse aliquando interemptos.*

fight against us on the highway of the Lord, occupy in that heavenly country even a higher place than ourselves. We, bishops, ought certainly to remember, that we did not receive, at our ordination, the sword of secular power; and, therefore, that we did not receive from God any vocation to slay, but only the vocation to make alive." He then declared, that they had nothing to do but to exclude such persons from the communion of the church, and to secure others from being infected by their doctrines. The genuinely Christian spirit here expressed was transmitted downward in the church of Liege; for it was nothing else that moved the canonical priest of this church who wrote Wazo's Life to protest so earnestly as he did against the execution of the false teachers at Goslar,* a proceeding which he denounced on the authority and by the example of Martin of Tours.†

* See p. 349, note.

† Hæc dicimus (says he, l. c. c. 61, f. 902) non quia errorem tutari velimus, sed quia hoc in divinis legibus nusquam sancitum non approbare monstremus.

NOTES AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS

FROM THE

SECOND EDITION.

Vol. iii. p. 7. *A few scattered hints.*] As Constantine had ever risen to greater power in his contests with princes who were zealously engaged in the defence of Paganism; as his political importance had regularly increased in proportion as his declarations became more decided in favour of the Christian religion, there seem to be some grounds for the assertion, that it was not a religious, but a purely political interest, which first induced him to espouse the cause of Christianity, though he might afterwards have really felt the religious interest, which in the beginning he did but outwardly assume; since religion, and above all Christianity, is possessed of a power to master and govern the soul of the individual whose intention at first is simply to use it in subserviency to his own ends. And examples to illustrate this statement are certainly not wanting in the period before us. Or even if we suppose Constantine had no set purpose and design of thus using Christianity, yet owing to his connection with the times, he might, under the sure guidance of a certain instinctive feeling, be led to perceive that Paganism had now lost its power in the life of the people, while Christianity had attracted the whole of that power to itself. Or it might be said, that without being conscious on his own part of any particular religious interest, he was gradually drawn into the current which the times themselves had set in motion. It might be asserted, with Gibbon, that some portion of the religious enthusiasm which attached itself to Constantine, and to which he yielded in the first place merely for the sake of compassing his own ends, finally got possession of his feelings, and became with him a matter of personal conviction.* But though in all this,

* In an age of religious fervour, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire.—*Gibbon*.

and particularly in what was last stated, there may be some truth at bottom, still there is no *good* reason for regarding the conversion of Constantine to Christianity as having been a mere outward change; but, on the contrary, we find many grounds for presuming that religious convictions which had originated in his own mind, were gradually unfolded in him under various influences from without, and that he passed by degrees from a certain species of religious eclecticism, to the sole recognition of Christianity as the true religion; by a transition, for instance, somewhat like that which we might suppose would have taken place in the case of an Alexander Severus, or a Philip the Arabian, had either of them lived in the same juncture.

P. 9, *indebted for his good fortune to the protection of a god.*] Perhaps to Apollo, or the sun-god, Helios. Julian intimates as much in that mythical account (orat. vii. f. 228, ed. Spanheim), where he represents Jupiter as saying to Helios, that Constantine, by abandoning the latter—with whom, therefore, he must be supposed to have previously stood in some special relation—had been the cause of every evil to himself and to his family. Ὅς σε ἀπολείπων αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει καὶ παισὶν αἰτίος ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων. In confirmation of this, we find the god of the sun represented on coins as the patron god of Constantine. See those with the inscription: “Soli invicto comiti.” Eckhel, doctrina nummorum veterum. Vol. viii. p. 75.

P. 20, *secure to us through all time.*] It is evident, then, that by restoring back to the Christian churches the property of which they had been deprived, he believed himself doing what would be well-pleasing to God.

P. 49. *Addition to note †.*] The mad assaults of the bishop Georgius on the temples, his influence over the emperor Constantius, and through him over all the civil and military authorities, are also noticed by Julian in his letter to the people of Alexandria: Τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἐρεῖτε ὅτι καθ’ ὑμῶν παρώξυνεν, εἶτα εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν στρατόπεδον, καὶ κατέλαβεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ ἀγιώτατον τοῦ Θεοῦ τέμενος, ἀποσυλήσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰκόνας καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κόσμον· ὑμῶν δ’ ἀγανακτούντων εἰκότως, καὶ πειρωμένων ἀμύνειν τῷ Θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ κτήμασιν, ὅδε ἐτόλμησεν ὑμῖν ἐπιπέμψαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀδίκως καὶ

παράνομως καὶ ἀσέβως· ἴσως Γεώργιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Κωνσταντῖον δεδοικώς, ἑαυτὸν παρεφύλαττεν, εἰ μετρώτερον ὑμῖν καὶ πολικώτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικώτερον πορρώθεν προσεφέρετο. See ep. 10, Juliani epistolæ, ed. Heyler. Moguntiæ, 1828, p. 14.

P. 51, *a direction hostile to Christianity.*] Athens, then the most flourishing school for the study of ancient literature, was also a central spot for the secret dissemination of paganism. The pagan and Christian youth here formed two opposite parties. Gregory of Nazianz, in the funeral discourse upon his friend Basil of Cæsarea, describes how by the influence of a Christian education they were kept safe from the contagious spirit of the place while studying together at Athens; and how all the pains taken to recommend paganism served but to confirm them in their faith. And in this connection, he remarks: Βλαβερά τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθῆναι τὰ εἰς ψυχὴν τοῖς εὐσεβεστέροις. Καὶ γὰρ πλοῦτον τὰ εἰδῶλα μᾶλλον τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ χαλεπὸν μὴ συναρπασθῆναι τοῖς τούτων ἐπαινέταις καὶ συνηγόροις. Orat. xx. ed. Lips., 1690, f. 331.

P. 56, *the destined instrument to achieve it.*] True, the political interest could not, in this case, have had any influence in modifying the religious. The former, under the existing relations of the parties to each other, would much rather have determined Julian to exhibit a great show of zeal for the church orthodoxy. His being connected with the oppressed, and on the whole feeble, pagan party, could not prove otherwise than injurious to his political interests. But there can be no doubt that, in his own case, as in that of Constantine, the political motives came to be united with religious ones; but in the opposite order. The political interest was in his case stimulated by the religious. As Constantine, with whom the political interest predominated at first, was from this led to the conviction, that he was destined by God to make his worship the prevailing one in the Roman empire, so Julian, with whom the interest for the fundamental principle of the old world gradually became the predominant one, finally convinced himself that he was destined and called by the gods to restore their ancient dominion.

P. 56, *to entrap a youth like Julian.*] The Platonic school was then divided into two parties. The first consisted of those who, true to the spirit of Plotinus, despised magic as some-

thing belonging to an inferior stage of the spiritual life, where that life was still under bondage to the sidereal world, still held fast under the dominion of nature; and considered it as alone worthy of the philosopher to consecrate his life, in contemplation, to the purely spiritual and godlike objects which are exalted above all reach of the powers of the sidereal world, those powers which are under the controul of the magic art (the *Goëteia*). The other party consisted of such as did not disdain to intermeddle with magic and divination, and who endeavoured by these arts to produce an impression on men's minds, so as to gain proselytes for the ancient religion. Maximus belonged to this latter party, and the young Julian was peculiarly susceptible to such impressions.

P. 58, *he became the secret hope of the whole pagan party.*] In like manner, the hopes of the Christian party were fixed on the young men, Basil, afterwards bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Gregory, afterwards bishop of Nazianzus, who were then students in the same school.

P. 59. *Their influence is diffused down to the earth.*] This whole process of evolution, from the Absolute to the ultimate limit of all existence, appeared to him to be a necessary one. Creation and redemption, as free acts of the divine will, were here quite out of the question. Such notions were to be attributed to the rude anthropomorphism of Judaism and Christianity!

P. 62. *The priest was not to read any improper poet.*] In the instruction to a high priest, already cited on page 56, Julian directs that "the best men, and above all the most devout and benevolent, should be selected for such offices."* Though it was not his principle to pay no regard to differences of rank and property in religious matters, yet the force of circumstances would constrain him to overlook such considerations, for it sometimes happened that zealous pagans were to be found only in noble and wealthy families, and at others, only among the lower ranks. Hence, after stating the qualifications above-mentioned, as requisite for the sacerdotal office, he adds,—“No matter whether they be rich or poor. No regard should be had to the circumstance whether the candidate was

* *Φιλοθεωπάτος*, which therefore means, in his own sense, those of whom but few were still remaining, that were greatly distinguished for the zeal in behalf of the ancient religion.

of noble rank or otherwise." Yet he must have been highly gratified when he could obtain priests from the better class: for these, in fact, would be the most suitable ministers of a paganism spiritualized by the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and well qualified to uphold the former by means of the latter.

P. 64. *They were not to engage in any unsuitable occupation.*] In his instruction to a priest, he distinguishes the different positions of the priest in his life within, and in his life without, the temple. He then goes on to say: "When the priest returns to the ordinary life of men, he may visit his friends, and accept invitations to banquets, though not from everybody, but only from the better sort. He may also visit, though not often, the public places; confer with the governor of the province; and by interceding with the magistrates assist, so far as it is in his power, those who really need it. The priestly attire should be different within from what it is when he is without the temple. Within the temple, it should be rich and gorgeous; without, more simple. He should keep away from the fights of wild beasts in the circus, and from the indecent theatrical shows." Julian wished to restore the theatre, as an institution connected with the pagan cultus, to its original purity in correspondence with the worship of Bacchus; but as this was impracticable, he meant at least that the priests should keep aloof from it. No theatrical singer or dancer, no player of mimes, no charioteer, was to be admitted into the house of a priest. Here, too, we may perceive a plain imitation of the ecclesiastical laws relative to the conduct of the clergy. In the same instructions, he requires of candidates for the priestly office, as an evidence of their piety, that they should succeed in persuading all their relatives to join in the worship of the gods.*

P. 70, *the Jews had confounded their Demiurge with the Supreme Deity.*] He would also probably ascribe the contradictions and inconsistencies which he supposed he found in many parts of the Old Testament, to the literal interpretation

* Δείγμα δὲ τοῦ φιλοῦ μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσεβίαν εἰσαγάγοι. Opp. f. 305. In this respect, also, we find similar laws of the church relative to the choice to spiritual offices; e. g. the law passed subsequently to this time by the third council of Carthage, c. 18: Ut episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi non ordinentur, priusquam omnes qui sunt in domo eorum, Christianos catholicos fecerint.

of those accounts, which, like the Hellenic myths, had a more profound, mystical sense. "The Jews," said he,* "did not agree with the Christians, but they agreed with the pagans. They differ from us only in the exclusive worship of one God. Everything else they have in common with us: temple, sacred groves, altars, lustrations, and a variety of other observances, wherein we differ but little or not at all."† "If the God proclaimed by Moses," he says, addressing the Jews,‡ "is the universal framer of the universe, presiding immediately over the world, then *we* have the more correct notions of him, who regard him as being the universal Lord of the Universe, and the others as governors of individual nations, and standing under him, as governors under the king, of whom each has to administer his own particular province; nor do we make him a rival of the gods that stand under him. But if Moses worships a particular subordinate God, and attributes to him the government and direction of all things, then it is better to follow us, and to recognize the God who *is* indeed over all, without failing to recognize that other being also, and to worship him as a God who has received the rule over the smallest province, but not as one who is the framer of all."

P. 81, *gained over by pagan teachers to embrace their religion.*] Perhaps he would not have scrupled to take the part of the children against their parents, where the latter sought to keep away their children from these schools; for he says: "It is not right to try to keep children from the best ways before they know which direction they should take, nor to lead them by addressing their fears and against their will to the religion of their elders,"—which could only be meant to apply to those parents who were endeavouring to keep their children away from paganism.

P. 98, *free from the constraint of authority.*] Themistius also praises the emperor, as knowing how to distinguish the true from the false use of sacrifices. He speaks highly of the law which had been enacted against using sacrifices for the purposes of magic. He praises the emperor for this, μάλιστα

* Cyrill. c. Julian. l. IX. f. 306.

† Τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰουδαίους, ἕξω τοῦ νομίζειν ἓνα θεὸν μόνον· ἐπεὶ τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὰ πως ἡμῖν ἐστί, ναοὶ, τεμένη, θυσιάσθηρια, ἀγνῆται, φυλάγματα τίνα, περὶ ὧν ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμῶς ἢ μικρὰ διαφερίμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

‡ L. c. l. IV. f. 148.

δὲ οἷς οὐκ ἐφίησι μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἐξηγεῖται οὐ φαυλοτέρων Εμπεδοκλέους, οὐ μὰ Δία, ἐκείνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ. (With the latter οὐ the φαυλοτέρων should be repeated: he is truly not inferior to that ancient Empedocles.) And he says afterwards, the emperor well understands how fraud and corruption intermingle with everything good:—that ὑποδύεται μεγαλοπρέπειαν μαγγανεία καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἀγυρτεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν προάγει, τὰς δὲ κολύει καὶ ἱερὰ ἀνοίγων ἀποκλείει μαγγανευτήρια καὶ θυσίας ἐννόμους ἀφιεῖς οὐ δίδωσιν ἄδειαν τοῖς γοητεύουσιν. Ed. Dindorf, p. 83.

P. 99, *the educated and higher classes.*] It was to be attributed in some degree to the indifference or the selfishness of Christian landholders, that paganism maintained itself for a longer time among the country people. In some cases, they gave themselves no concern about the religious state of their peasantry; they avoided the expense of erecting churches, and of supporting clergymen capable of giving religious instruction to the people; and sometimes their covetousness choked the feeling of all higher interests to such a degree, that they were anxious to let the pagan temples stand for the sake of the additional income they derived from the taxes on them.

Thus Zeno, bishop of Verona, says, in a sermon where he is speaking of the spiritual sacrifices of Christians: "Ask here, ye Christians, whether *your* sacrifices can be well-pleasing to God; you who know every clod of earth, every little stone and plant on the estates around you, but take no note of the temples everywhere smoking with incense on your own lands,—you, who, to tell the truth, think yourselves to be acting a very prudent part in ignoring this matter. The proof is not far off. You every day go to law, that nobody may deprive you of your income from the temples."* And Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, addresses his flock as follows: "Believe ye, that the lukewarm and negligent Christian loves God; he who allows idols to be worshipped on his estate, and leaves stand-

* Lib. i. Tract. x. c. 6: Hic quærite, Christiani, sacrificium vestrum an esse possit acceptum, qui vicinarum possessionum omnes glebulas, lapillos et surculos nôstis, in prædiis autem vestris fumantia undique sola fana non nôstis, quæ (si vera dicenda sunt) dissimulando subtiliter custoditis. Probatio longe non est. Jus templorum ne quis vobis eripiat, quotidie litigatis. Ed. Ballerin. Augustæ, 1758, p. 120.

ing the temples of idols and altars of devils, to the dishonour of the living God?"*

P. 117. *Whenever they were discovered they were called apostates.*] The same thing was done in the case of the Huguenots under the reign of Louis XIV.

P. 118. *Life of Proclus, written by his disciple Marinus.*] When the general agreement of all, as against heresies, so also against paganism, was adduced in evidence of the side of truth, Proclus, on the other hand, held that the agreement only of those gifted with knowledge, possessed the weight of authority; but the general agreement in the disavowal of the gods arose from ignorance. "Nor," said he, "*can* there be any real agreement among persons so ignorant; for real agreement springs from man's reason. As the unreasonable man is not in harmony with himself, still less can he be in agreement with others."† The doctrinal oppositions among Christians might serve to confirm him in this position. To the Christian idea of the creation, and the Christian doctrine concerning an approaching final end to be answered by the earthly course of the world, he opposed eighteen arguments, drawn from the fundamental principles of a consistent Neo-Platonism. Although he did not attack Christianity by name, yet this polemical work manifestly has reference to the most important and general points of difference between the Neo-Platonic and the Christian way of thinking—to the opposition between a *monistic* doctrine of necessity and the teleological doctrine of freedom.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the religious atmosphere of the period had an influence also on Paganism; and many things among Christians and Pagans differed only in their particular shape. While among the Christians we hear of help bestowed in time of need by the visitation of martyrs, we find the same thing among the Pagans in the shape of visitations

* Sermo xiii. in veterum Brixiae episcoporum, opp. Brixiae, 1738, f. 319.

† Ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι θεοὺς ὁμολογοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ δι' ἀνεπιστημοσύνην τοῦτο πεπόνεασιν. Πῶς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τις ὁμολογήσειεν, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν στασιαστικῶς διακείμενος; καὶ οἱ ἄβειοι δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ ἂν ποτὶ ἁρμονίᾳ ἔχοιεν ἀνεπιστήμονες οὗτοι. Commentar. in Platonis Alcibiadem. Pars ii. Opera ed. Cousin, T. III. Paris, 1821, pp. 125, 126.

of the gods. Restorative dreams and miraculous cures in the churches of the martyrs stand side by side with the dreams and cures in the temples of the gods. Pagan philosophers, no less than Christian devotees, won reverence from their party by the rigid austerity of their lives.

P. 119, *the renowned Simplicius*.] This noble philosopher, the last champion of the Hellenic religion, which was now fast approaching to its final overthrow, and author of the commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus, united to a strong interest in matters of philosophy a deep and lively sense of the religious need, which led him to seek communion with an invisible world. Though the religious element of his philosophy may betray an unconscious influence of Christianity, yet his entire philosophical position was one which inclined him more to the Hellenic polytheism than to Christian theism. But, at the same time, it may be said of him, even with more propriety than of Julian, that the distorted exhibitions of Christianity which were presented to him in actual life, contributed in a great measure to confirm his prejudices against it.

He maintained, that no contradiction was involved in recognizing one primal essence and original principle of everything that exists, who is incapable of any adequate designation, and in worshipping those principles of being which have flowed from this essence, and in which what was one in the highest of all, has been unfolded into manifold forms of being. Each of these higher essences represents the Supreme in its own peculiar way; in each of them, man worships the Supreme Being himself, who reveals himself in them.* If Christianity redeems the spirit from the forces of nature, and bestowing freedom on minds which had been separated by natural limitations, unites them together through the medium of a divine life, Simplicius, on the contrary, defended the old principle of nature-religion against Christianity, together with the limitations which are grounded therein. "God," he supposes, "is, indeed, every-

* He says[†] in defence of Polytheism: 'Εἰ δέ τις δυσχεραίνει τῷ αὐτῷ καλεῖν ὀνόματι τὰς τε μερικὰς καὶ τὴν ὅλην, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ εὐλόγως δυσχεραίνει, καὶ πράγματι δοκοῦντος εἶναι κοινοῦ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ (since even from the nature of the case the idea of the principle, from which all being proceeds, is something in common between the gods and the supreme original essence) ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καλεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρχῶν. The principle: Τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ σέβας διὰ τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀναπέμπισθαι, χρὴ. See V. 38, ed. Schweighäuser, p. 376.

where present with all his divine powers ; but as men are separated one from the other by time and space, and dependent on these conditions of time and space, so too, under these conditions, they can partake but in a partial degree of the divine influences. Hence each people has its own peculiar religious institutions, which have come from the gods themselves ; and these holy national institutions men must observe, in order to draw the divine powers to themselves, according to these laws ordained by the gods. When divine things are conducted according to the order originally appointed by God, such an influence of divine illumination is manifested on the appointed day, as is not to be experienced on other days at all ; for then the sick are healed and many salutary things are foretold. So important a bearing has difference of times and seasons on union with the gods. The same holds true also of the right relation of place, of words spoken, of actions performed, and offerings made to the gods." *

Thus in all these outward regulations, he perceives a higher necessity in the relation of divine things to earthly, which ought to be held sacred. "As man is composed of soul and body," he argues, "it is not enough that we purify the soul by the intellectual knowledge of divine things, and a life in harmony with nature ; we need also those means of purification which the gods have appointed for the body, the soul's organ. Let, then, the purified soul offer to the gods, through its purified organ, in cleanliest raiment, the first-fruits of the outward gifts which God has bestowed : for it is befitting that we should present the first-fruits to those beings who have given us all we possess. It betokens our readiness to consecrate everything to them." Should it be objected that God needs not such gifts, he replies : "That, indeed, is true ; but neither does he need our good life, or our correct notions of him. But *we* have need of these things, as the means of uniting us with the gods, so that we may receive the deity, as each of these divine beings is prepared to reflect upon us, according to his measure, the divine illumination in the same degree in which each one among us may be found worthy of it." He refers to particular instances, in which, by such holy acts, men had been restored from epilepsy, and in which hail-storms and inundations had thus been averted.

* L. c. p. 352.

As Simplicius was very far from holding to an abstract religion of reason, as he was deeply possessed of the faith in a living relation between man and the gods, so he received, along with all the rest that was to be found in the old religious traditions of the Greeks, their oracles and prophecies. In treating the question, how and when men ought to resort for counsel and direction to prophecies, he lays it down as a principle, that it should be done only with regard to matters not dependent on the will of man, and where reason and experience furnish no means of coming to the truth. It should be done with that equanimity with which the wise man is wont to contemplate everything which is independent of his own will. If divinations were resorted to on all questions, the tendency would be to make men timid and inactive, and ready to attribute great importance to mere trifles.

Now it was a case of no unfrequent occurrence for men to seek in revelations from the gods an answer to their queries, with regard to general religious and philosophical truths, especially in those times of wide-spread scepticism, and of the deep-felt need of a new revelation, which preceded the appearance and triumph of Christianity. Hence Simplicius was led to ask, whether it was proper to resort to divinations on subjects such as the question respecting the immortality of the soul. And he decided against it. In all questions capable of being resolved by rational investigation, men were bound to confine themselves to this alone. "To be informed by some god that the soul is immortal, was no doubt suited to produce firm faith, but not a scientific conviction. If a man is so favoured by the Deity as to obtain the knowledge of causes and scientific truth, this is but another proof of the divine goodness, and does not belong to the province of divination. If some have consulted the gods respecting the nature of things, still these have been but few, and not the first among the philosophers—and such persons have commonly possessed not a scientific conviction, but a conviction of faith; for it was God's will that the soul, which is endowed with the free power of self-determination, should come to the knowledge of the truth by its own efforts."

It is evident that Simplicius could not have had any leaning to Christianity, even according to his own views of the relation of philosophy to religion. He was looking for something

different, in communications from heaven, from that which was to be given to man by divine revelation ; and what faith was destined to attain by means of Christianity, he expected to find in his philosophy.

Though the false notions of religious things which he found prevailing among a large portion of Christians contributed much to prejudice him against a religion which he had not studied and did not understand, yet at the bottom of it lay, at the same time, the real opposition which existed between his own fundamental principle and that of Christianity. To his Platonic apprehension of the idea of God, the biblical doctrine of God's holiness, and everything founded on it and connected with it, was utterly foreign. Thus, for example, all punishment appeared to him to be nothing, other than a means of reformation and purification. Perhaps he might acknowledge the necessity of various kinds of lustration for fallen man, but the idea of a redemption, in the Christian sense, of a divine forgiveness of sins, of a new birth, could find no point of entrance into his way of thinking. Whenever the need in which human nature stands of redemption and reconciliation with God, came into question, he must have believed that in all this there was a confounding of the subjective with the objective point of view. To him it *could* not appear *otherwise*. As it is in very truth a need of man's soul to be delivered from the breach with God, which has its foundation in sin, and true repentance on man's part sufficed for this, man gave to this thought an objective existence, as if, on the part of God, some special thing was required for this purpose. That Simplicius must needs have judged in this way, we may infer from what he says respecting the false notions of the Christians of his time.

In inveighing against those who denied a divine Providence, he thinks it necessary to attack next what he calls the third species of atheism.* This he makes to consist in supposing that the Deity is capable of being bribed by gifts, (oblations,) votive offerings, (ἀναθήμασι,) and distributions of money ; † (the merit of alms-giving, ‡) as people now believe, § where he evidently alludes to the Christians ;—so that evil-doers, those who have practised robbery and oppression, if they do but

* Ὁ τρίτος τῆς ἀθείας λόγος.
Παρατριπείσθαι.

† Κερατίου διαδόσεων.
§ Ὡς οἱ νῦν οἶονται.

expend a small portion of their booty in such gifts, and make presents to those who pretend to pray and to make prevalent intercession with God in behalf of such persons, may be allowed to go on in this way, and sin without danger of punishment. "Many now living," he says, "even consider it as worthy of the divine goodness, that sinners should be forgiven—understanding this in a vague and indeterminate way."*

Having with slight labour succeeded in overthrowing this sort of superstition, he proceeds next, however, to inquire after the fundamental truth, lying at bottom of the opinion that God was capable of being persuaded by gifts, by good actions, or by prayer. Wherever, he says, there is true remorse for sin, these things contribute to promote the man's conversion to God, if they are done to preserve the sense of remorse; if the bodily prostration on the knees corresponds to the humiliation of soul; if the money is applied to purposes which are well-pleasing in the sight of God. "For," says he, "God, when we sin, does not turn from us; he is not angry; he does not leave us: nor does he return to us when we repent. All this is human, and quite alien from the immediate divine blessedness. But *we* separate ourselves from God, in departing from that course which is in harmony with nature; and in restoring our original nature, *we* return back to fellowship with God. And we describe the act of our own return to God, as if God returned back to us."† He employs the following comparison to illustrate this habit of confounding our subjective feelings with an objective action. "Just as when a boat is drawn towards the shore by a rope let down from a rock, and the people in the boat, who are not aware of what is going on, imagine, that instead of approaching the rock themselves, the rock is gradually approaching them.—Repentance, prayer, and everything else which is connected therewith, may be compared with this rope."‡

Simplicius alludes probably to the persecutions which the few Pagans in his own time encountered, when he speaks of the tyrannical violence which would force men to atheism.§

* See V. 38, p. 392, seq.

† Ταύτην τὴν ἡμῶν ἐπιστροφὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγομεν.

‡ Μεταμέλειται δὲ καὶ ἰκετεῖαι καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλογῶσι τῇ κἄλῳ. L. c. p. 398.

§ Τυραννικὰς βίαις, μίχρῃ καὶ τοῦ ἀσεβεῖν ἀναγκαζούσας. See c. 13, p. 131.

These persecutions moved him and some of his fellow-believers to escape to Persia. (See text.)

P. 121, *the requisitions of the original doctrine of Christ.*] When he came to perceive the opposition, then, betwixt primitive Christianity and the religion of his times, the conviction of this might have resulted in a tendency to reform, rather than in one hostile to Christianity, had he possessed a mind open to the reception of its essential doctrines.

P. 124, *it was able to purge away all the sins of the soul.*] His fundamental views of religion were limited and confined by the intuition of nature. His gods encompassed him with their splendour in the sensible world. When he looked up to the heavenly orbs, he saw his divinities beaming down upon him with their light. The regular courses of the planets, moving after eternal and immutable laws, was to him the symbol of a world exalted above decay, of a loftier region belonging to the life of the gods. The fountain of all light to nature, was to him the fountain also of spiritual light for mankind. Helios was the mediator between the invisible and the visible worlds; between the *κόσμος νοητός* and *αἰσθητός*; between ideas and the world of manifestation. He viewed himself as a soul related to Helios.* Recollecting how singularly, when a boy, he had been attracted by the sunlight, he imagined that he discerned here the unconscious longing which already, in that time of darkness, was implanted within and radiated through him, after the god to whom he was related.† Theism, therefore, would appear to him to be a religion too abstract, too lifeless. And in one view of it, Christianity must have presented itself to him as such a religion—a religion which repelled the divine element in man too far off; and in another view of it, as a religion in which it was brought too near, in which it was too much humanized. He was seeking for a revelation of the godlike, which should dart its splendour

* Ὁπαδὸς θεοῦ ἡλίου.

† In his discourse in praise of Helios, Orat. iv. f. 130: Ἐντίθηκέ μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος καὶ πρὸς τὸ φᾶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην. So nature taught him, though no book had as yet come into his hands, from which he could learn the nature of the gods. Λήθη δὲ ἔστω τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου, says he. I am indeed well aware, that in Julian a great deal is mere rhetorical sound; but I do not see why what he here says might not be psychologically true.

into the sensible world. He was destitute of the sense to appreciate the spiritual majesty of the appearance and life of Christ. The same thing happened here which is always found to occur wherever the secret feelings of man's heart may openly express themselves, that he who does not feel himself attracted, will of necessity feel repelled by the appearance of Christ. How poor and despicable appeared to him the person who could style himself the light of the world, compared with the ever-enduring, ever-present revelation of Helios, shining forth to the eyes of all! How insignificant the person who invites to himself the heavy laden,—who presents himself in the group of those oppressed with spiritual and bodily distress, in comparison with the old mythical and historical heroes, and the conquerors of the world. We need but hear how Julian expresses himself on this matter in his own characteristic language. (See the quotation cited on page 122.)

P. 124, *a national character once existing appeared to him to be incapable of change.*] He could not distinguish here that which is founded in the laws of creation, in the original character of nations, from that which has sprung out of the disturbance of the original element by the intrusion of sin; as, indeed, he was a stranger to all distinctions between nature, sin, and grace. Hence, on these grounds, the union of all nations in one kingdom of God,—in other words, a religion of humanity,—must appear to him nonsense. “In the Father,” says he, “all is perfect, and all is one; but in separated existence, some one power or another predominates. Thus Mars leads the warlike individuals of a people; Minerva, the warlike endued with understanding; Mercury, those who possess more cunning than boldness.” In evidence of this, he alleges the undeniable difference of character which actually existed, for example, between the Germans, Greeks, and Romans. To explain this as an accidental thing, would be to deny the existence of a Providence. The question returned then, what is the cause of it? and this was to be found in what has just been said.* The different codes of law, he supposes, did not first give its stamp to the national character, but the diversity of the latter expressed itself in these. The law-givers, he maintained, had added but little by their

* Opp. f. 115.

guidance to the primitive natures and characters of the people.* He refers for proof to the fact, that although the influence of the Roman dominion had already endured for so long a period, yet the western nations had only adopted the language, and, at most, something of the rhetoric, but had remained total strangers to the philosophy and the scientific culture of Rome.† On this ground the Hellenic culture seemed to him a thing strictly cohering with the worship of the Hellenic deities, with the Grecian cultus;—a thing foreign from Judaism and Christianity. And inasmuch as he made no separation of the human element from the divine, by which human culture is to be ennobled in all its branches; as he paid no regard to the circumstance, that revelation is only given for the purpose of communicating the divine life as a principle of refinement for all human culture, so he charged it as a reproach upon the sacred writings and upon Christianity, that every species of culture could not be communicated by means of them; that they needed to supply their own defects from some other quarter.

P. 125, to foist in the doctrine of Christ's divinity.] Contemplating the relation of the Old and New Testament, the relation of the several writings of the New Testament, and of the several apostles to one another, with the eye of an enemy, Julian could no where find anything but antagonisms, and must overlook the higher unity, where those who allowed themselves to be determined in their views by nothing save the immediate practical and religious interest, saw everywhere nothing but sameness and uniformity, and were unconscious of the differences and of the several stadia in the gradual development of the kingdom of God in history. Thus, what was true and yet not true in the attacks of opponents, might have conducted to a more profound and liberal investigation of the developing process of divine truth. He maintains that when the Christians taught the laws of the Old Testament were given only for a certain determinate period, they asserted what stood in direct contradiction with the plain declarations of the Old Testament, by which these laws were declared to be of eternal validity.‡ He supposes, moreover, that the

* Οἱ νομοθέται μικρὰ ταῖς φύσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἰσότηδεσσιν διὰ τῆς ἀγωγῆς προσέθενται.

† L. c. f. 131.

‡ L. c. l. IX. f. 319.

Christians departed from the doctrine of Christ himself; for the latter had expressly disclaimed any wish to annul the Mosaic ceremonial law. He had commanded that it should be exactly observed in the well-known passages in the sermon on the Mount. Then, addressing the Christians, Julian says: "If Christ, therefore, threatened such punishment to those who transgressed but a single precept, what excuse will you find who have trampled upon all the commandments?"*

The apostle Paul, ever since his times, had been a special object of scorn to those who were incapable of comprehending his lofty, profound, and *many-sided* mind; and Julian also can perceive in that freedom of spirit and wisdom which led Paul to become all things to all men, to speak and to act differently under different circumstances and relations, nothing but self-contradiction and intentional fraud.† He endeavours to show how Paul contradicts the Old Testament, Christ, and himself; how he alters his doctrine concerning God according to circumstances, sometimes asserting that the Jews alone are God's inheritance; sometimes, to gain the Gentiles, teaching that God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. While the church-teachers sought to bring together proof passages for the divinity of Christ from the Old and New Testament, and all the writings of the New Testament alike, without distinguishing what had been said *implicite* and *explicitè* — different stadia of development; Julian, on the other hand, was for demonstrating that this doctrine was one altogether foreign from the Old Testament, and that even in the New Testament it was not an original one, but that John had first contrived to smuggle it in. He said the worship of the Son, no vestige of which was to be found in the Old Testament, conflicted with the command given there, forbidding the worship of all but the one only God.‡ By Moses, one God exalted above all others was named, whom alone men were bound to worship, and there was none second to him, neither one which was like him, nor which was unlike

* Cyrill. l. X. f. 351.

† Τὸν πάντας πανταχοῦ, τοὺς πᾶποτε γοήτας καὶ ἐπατεῶνας ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον. L. c. l. III. f. 100.

‡ Εἰ γὰρ οὐδένα θέλει προσκυνεῖσθαι, τοῦ χάριν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτον προσκυνεῖτε, καὶ ὃν ἐκείνον οὐδ' ἡγήσατο πᾶποτε ἡμεῖς δι' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἀπόβλητον αὐτῶ προστίθετε. L. c. l. V. f. 159.

him.* Let them but show, he says, a single expression in Moses which warranted any belief of this sort. The passage in Deuter. xviii. 18, quoted as a prophecy relating to the Messiah, had no reference to the son of Mary. But even were such a reference conceded, still Moses asserts that the promised person should resemble himself, not that he should be like God: he spoke of a prophet, such as he was; one who should proceed from among men, not one who should come forth from God.† “So ill-fated are ye,” says he to the Christians, “that ye do not even stand fast to what has been taught you by the apostles. Indeed, that doctrine has progressively deteriorated, and has been carried to a worse species of atheism by your later teachers.‡ Neither Paul nor Matthew,” &c. (see quotation in text). Julian intimates that John himself was afraid to call Jesus, in direct terms, God, and he imagines that he sees a piece of artifice in John’s passing so gradually, and as it were imperceptibly, from the Logos to the historical Christ. At first, he says, John spoke only of God and the Logos,—said that the latter became man and dwelt among us; but was ashamed to say a word as to the *how*. He nowhere made any mention of Jesus or Christ; and thus insinuating what he would have understood, he next introduces John the Baptist, and makes him testify that Jesus is the one on whom men must believe, as the being who is God and Logos.§

Had Julian contemplated the character of the apostles with less prejudice, he would, after having once missed the simplicity of John and become suspicious of surreptitious dealing and sly deception, instead of charging this on the apostle, much rather

* Allusion to the different doctrinal parties, which had arisen during the controversies of the fourth century.

† Cyrill. l. VIII. f. 253.

‡ Οὕτω δὲ ἔσπευ δυστυχεῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παρα-
δεδομένοις ἐκμεμενέκατε, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χειρόν καὶ δυσσεβέστερον ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐπιγενομένων ἐξεργάσθη. L. c. l. X. f. 327.

§ Καὶ ὁ λόγος, φησὶ, σὰρξ ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ., τὸ δὲ ὅπως λέγειν αἰσχυρόμενος,
οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν οὔτε Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Χριστὸν ἄχρῃς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ λόγον ἀποκαλεῖ.
Κλέπτων δὲ ὥσπερ ἡρέμα καὶ λάθρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν, Ἰωάννην φησὶ τὸν
Βαπτιστὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταύτην ἐκέσθαι τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὅτι ἄρα οὗτος
ἐστὶν ὃν χρὴ πεπιστευκέναι Θεὸν εἶναι λόγον. Cyrill. l. X. f. 327. Σκοπεῖτε,
ὅπως εὐλαβῶς ἡρέμα καὶ λιγηθότως ἐπεισάγει τῷ δράματι τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς
ἀσεβείας, οὕτω τε ἔστι πανούργος καὶ ἀπατεῶν. L. c. f. 333.

felt obliged to regard this gospel as the production of some later impostor. But he was very ready to welcome every opportunity of exhibiting the apostles themselves in this unfavourable light.

We have already had occasion to remark that Julian, when he speaks as an opponent of the nature of Christianity, was forced, without being aware of it, to be a witness of those very things which marked its superiority over every other religious standing ground. Among the cases of this sort we reckon the way in which he couples Judaism with Paganism, and places both in a common relation over against Christianity; in so far, namely, as the theistic principle was first freed by Christianity from the constraints of outward forms, and that particularity of application within which it still remained confined at the position of Judaism. To the same class belongs also his remark, that Christianity is on one side akin to Judaism, and on another to Paganism;—in the theistic element, opposed to Paganism and one with Judaism; in combating the legal ground, and in freedom, though on a different foundation, one with the Hellenic principle; all which he so interpreted, indeed, as to make the Christians adopt what was bad and let go what was good in the two religions. From the Jews they had taken nothing but the renunciation of the gods, but they had rejected the severe discipline of the law and the various kinds of lustration; from the Pagans they had adopted the free mode of life, but renounced their pious respect for everything divine.* “Had you adopted,” says he to the Christians, “the religious doctrine of the Jews, it would, indeed, have fared worse with you than if you had remained with us; still you would have met with a more tolerable lot, since you would have worshipped one God instead of several, nor would you have worshipped a man, or rather many unfortunate men.† You would have received a harsh and rude law, deformed by many defects which are peculiar to the barbarians, instead of our mild and philanthropic laws; in other respects you would have been worse off, but yet holier and purer.” So he compares them with leeches, which imbibe all the impure blood, but leave that which is good.‡

* Τὰ εὐλαβεῖς πρὸς ἄπασαν τὴν κρείττονα φύσιν. Cyrill. I. VII. f. 238.

† The multitude of saints.

‡ Ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν τὰς παραπληγίας τοῖς ἔνεσιν ὥσπερ τινὰς κῆρας δρεπόμενοι,

The religious system of Julian consisted, as the case usually was with the later Platonicians, of a mixture of rationalist and supernaturalist elements. On the one hand, he says, in opposition to supernaturalism, which doubtless came to his knowledge in some extreme and exaggerated form:—"It is not enough to say, God spake and it was done; but the commands of God must harmonize with the nature of things. God being eternal, his commands must correspond to his eternal being; hence they can be no other than the nature of things themselves, or something that harmonizes with it. How can nature possibly be opposed to the commands of God, or how be at discordance with them?"* But still Julian was for looking to the revelations of the gods for the resolution of questions which he supposed human reason by itself was incompetent to resolve. Thus he says, in asserting the immortality of the soul:—"We here depend on the authority of no man, but only of the gods, who alone doubtless have knowledge of this; for on such matters it behoves man to express only his conjectures, but the gods must have certain knowledge."† The excellence and authority of the old religions and their sacred institutions he traced to their supernatural, divine origin. "I avoid," said he, in writing to an ἀρχιερεὺς,‡ "I avoid novelty in everything, but above all in that which relates to the gods; since I am of the opinion, that, from the beginning and always, the laws of one's country must be observed, because it is plain that the gods have given them, for if they were given by men they would not be so beauti-

σὴν ἀβιότητα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ρηδιουργίας, φαῦλον δὲ καὶ ἐπισεισχυμένον βίον ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ραθυμίας καὶ χυδαιοότητος. L. c. l. II. f. 43. Νῦν δὲ ὑμῖν συμβίβηκεν ὥσπερ ταῖς βδέλλαις, τὸ χεῖριστον ἔλκειν αἷμα ἐπιτεῖν, ἀφῆναι δὲ τὸ καθαρώτερον. L. c. l. VI. f. 202.

* Τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αἰδίου, καὶ προστάγματα τοιαῦτα εἶναι προσήκει. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὄντα. ἥτοι φύσεις εἰσὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄντων ὁμολογούμενα. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ φύσις τῶν προστάγματα μάχοιτο τοῦ Θεοῦ; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔξω πίπτοι τῆς ὁμολογίας; Cyrill. l. IV. f. 143.

† Πειθόμεθα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί, τοῖς Θεοῖς δὲ μόνον, οὗς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ταῦτα εἰκὸς εἰδέναι μόνους, εἴ γε χρὴ καλεῖν εἰκὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὥς τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόζει περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζειν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς Θεοῖς ἀνάγκη. Ep. 63, p. 131. Yet he knew of nothing else to say to one who wanted to be consoled for the early death of his wife, than that he must resign himself to a necessity inseparable from the condition of human nature. Ep. 37.

‡ Ep. 63.

ful." * While Christianity teaches that, in place of the earlier isolated and fragmentary communications of divine powers, the quickening of redeemed humanity by the divine Spirit has entered in as a permanent thing; Julian, on the other hand, adhering firmly to the older point of view, supposes only rare and transient communications of the spirit which comes from the gods to have taken place, and that, by certain conditions of nature, these divine powers had at length everywhere been lost. "The spirit that comes from the gods to men," says he, "appears seldom, and to but few, and not easily can every man, at any time, be a partaker of it; hence the communication of the spirit has ceased with the Jews, and even among the Egyptians it has not been continued down to the present times. The spontaneous oracles themselves seem to give way to the changing periods of time." † Hence he was of the opinion, that in place of these bygone supernatural communications of the gods, had come in the continuous intermediation of the fellowship with them by means of the holy arts; as he says next, after the words before cited—"Our father Zeus, the lover of mankind, has, in order that we might not be wholly deprived of the fellowship with the gods, given us those holy arts (as for example the auspici, horuspicia) which furnish us with such sufficient help for our needs." ‡ Furthermore, he looked upon the healing art, coming from the appearance of Esculapius, as an abiding after-influence of the revelation of the gods, and that this god everywhere reveals himself for the cure of diseases, bodily and mental §—referring to those incubations to which so many cures were ascribed in the first centuries after the birth of Christ. He affirms that

* Φεύγω τὴν καινοτομίαν ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, οἰόμενος χρῆναι ἂν πατρίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλάττεσθαι νόμους, οὓς ὅτι μὲν ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοὶ, φανερὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὕτω καλοὶ, παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπλῶς γενόμενοι. Ep. 63.

† Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνούμενον πνεῦμα, σπανιάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις γίνεται. Καὶ οὐτε πάντα ἄνδρα τούτου μετασχεῖν ῥᾶδιον, οὐτε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. Ταύτῃ σοι καὶ τὸ παρ' Εβραίοις ἐπίλιπιν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς τοῦτο σώζεται. Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτοφυῆ χρηστήρια ταῖς τῶν χρόνων εἰκοντα περιόδοις. Cyrill. l. VI. f. 198.

‡ Ὁ δὲ φιλόφρωνος ἡμῶν Ζεὺς, ἐννοήσας ὡς ἂν μὴ παντάπασι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποστηθῶμεν κεινανίας, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τεχνῶν ἐπίσκεψιν, ὑφ' ἧς πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας ἔχομεν τὴν ἀποχωρῶσαν βοήθειαν.

§ Cyrill. l. VI. f. 500.

Esculapius had often cured him (Julian himself) by remedies suggested to him in dreams.*

Julian, thus contemplating history with hoodwinked eye, could see in the old Hellenico-Roman religion something indestructibly divine, and believe that, in renouncing it, the Roman world was rapidly passing to barbarism and ruin. In Christianity he could see nought else than a work of man, which was indebted for its extensive spread to sundry cunning artifices; while the decline of the old religion and manners, for which the Christians were chargeable, promoted the extension of their faith—ignorance and credulity opening the way for it. Accordingly, in the introduction to his work against Christianity, which he wrote, as he avows, for the purpose of giving the world an account of the reasons which induced him to renounce Christianity, he observes, “Christianity is a figment put together by the wickedness of men, in which there is no particle of the godlike, but which has merely taken advantage of human folly, and the propensity to what is marvellous and wonderful, to procure credence for its pretensions.”† And so he might suppose that he was himself destined by the gods, by restoring the old religion and suppressing the new, which had been raised to eminence only by human caprice, to save the Roman state from ruin.

P. 127, called *Philopatris*.] Many things are to be found in this dialogue hardly reconcileable with the hypothesis by which it is ascribed to the times of Julian. It is easy to see that it sets up Paganism and Christianity alike as objects of ridicule. A certain species of deism seems to lie at the basis of the whole work. But the Pagans of this period were for the most part zealous adherents of the old doctrine of the gods, and a production of this sort seems not to answer to their way of thinking. But even were we disposed to believe that the author of this dialogue was given to none of the commonly prevailing theories, but had constructed a peculiar theory of his own, yet there still remain many other difficul-

* Ἱατρικὴν τὴν ἐξ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, οὗ πανταχοῦ γῆς ἔστι χρηστέα, ἃ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μεταλαγχάνειν διηλεκτῶς. Ἐμὲ γοῦν ἰάσατο πολλάκις Ἀσκληπιὸς πᾶμνοντα, ὑπαγορεύσας φάρμακα. L. c. I. VII. f. 235.

† Πλάσμα ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθέν, ἔχουσα μὲν οὐδὲν θεῖον, ἀποχρησάμενη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ καὶ παιδαριώδει καὶ ἀνοήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, τὴν τραγελόγησαν εἰς πίστιν ἤγαγεν ἀληθείας. Cyrill. lib. I. f. 39.

ties in the way of the hypothesis that the dialogue was composed in the times of Julian, or, according to the theory of the pastor M. Ehemann (in the *Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Württembergs*, Bd. xi. Heft 2, J. 1839), in the times of the emperor Valens. What is the meaning of such a promise as that Egypt should be subjugated? It could not be set forth as a promise for the future under any one of the Roman emperors down to the time when the country was conquered by the Saracens. It was then only that the recovery of this country could be reckoned among the happiest prospects of the Roman empire. It may also be questioned whether the manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity is spoken of, in s. 12, does not betray an author who wrote after the second ecumenical council. And if a good deal is to be found in the historical writings of Leo the deacon, from which the allusions in the dialogue may be most easily explained, the opinion which was first broached by the lamented Niebuhr, and which was afterwards adopted by Hase, in the edition of the *Scrip. Byz. T. xi.*, deserves a more careful examination.

P. 147, *these hostile machinations.*] An insulated narrative* has come down to our times, from which we learn how mightily Christianity wrought in Persia at the commencement of the fourth century. Under the reign of Hormisdas II. (from the year 301 to 308†), one of the first of the Magians, named Mobed, a man who stood in the highest veneration,‡ embraced Christianity, and wrote a work against the doctrine of Zoroaster, and in defence of the Christian religion. This work, widely disseminated in Persia, seems to have accomplished much for the spread of Christianity. As it was found impossible to put him down by disputation, he was stoned to death. The Armenian bishops, in their reply to the procla-

* We are indebted for this account to the history of the religious wars in Armenia, very recently published, and written by the Armenian bishop Elisæus.

† Unless we are to understand Hormisdas I., who reigned from 272 to 273.

‡ According to the version of Neumann: Whom you held to be something more than a man. According to the Italian translation of Cappelletti, Venezia, 1840, the communication of which I owe to my friend and colleague Petermann: "Che voi repntavate piu sublime dell' umana fiatura."

mation of Mihr-Nerseh, allege that any one might learn what Christianity was from the writings of this Mobed.*

P. 149, *everything that transpired in the East.*] Yet the persecution certainly did not arise in the first place out of mere political interests; but religious fanaticism and the influence of the Magians contributed in no small measure to excite it. Indeed, one of the most honoured and learned of that body, Mobed, had embraced Christianity. The multiplication of splendid churches had excited the jealousy of the Magians; and they declared that everything must be sacrificed rather than suffer Christianity utterly to suppress the worship of Ormuzd.†

P. 150, *and thereby punished men.*] Such a doctrine seemed to the Persians a confounding of Ormuzd and Ahriman. It seemed ascribing to God what could be said of no one but Ahriman. "Such fury," says the edict cited in the text, "never got possession of any man against his fellows; how much less could it exist in God against man? The man who uses such language is deaf and blind—deceived by that serpent, the devil."

Same page (150), *were objects of worship with the Persians.*] Thus the Persian king said to the Christians in Armenia, "I have sworn by the sun, the great god, whose beams enlighten the whole world, and whose warmth gives life to all creatures, that if, at his wonderful appearance in the morning, every knee does not bow in worship before him and acknowledge him as god, I will abandon you to every species of persecution."‡

P. 152, *to God, the Creator of all things.*] The spirit of Oriental despotism among the Persians, as elsewhere, required that the subject should have no other religion than his king had. Accordingly, in the proclamation, so often cited, we find

* See Neumann's English translation of Elisæus, p. 14: Italian translation, p. 38.

† A remarkable expression of this kind is ascribed to king Jezdegerdes II. in the historical work of Elisæus (p. 30, l. c.): I have heard from my ancestors, that when, in the times of Sapor II. this doctrine was propagated through the whole empire, the teachers of our faith prevailed on the king to issue a severe edict for the suppression of Christianity, that the faith of the Magians might not utterly perish.

‡ See Elisæus' history of the Armenian religious wars, translated by Neumann, p. 82.

it said, "Know that ye are bound to adopt the faith of your sovereign; especially as we have to give an account of you to God."

P. 155, *had permission to leave the country.*] King Sapor was at length forced to see himself that, by the violence which he employed for the suppression of Christianity, nothing could be accomplished; and the unhappy issue of all his sanguinary edicts induced him to grant a general tolerance to all religious denominations in Persia. In the history of the religious wars, written by the Armenian bishop Elisæus, the Persian king, Jezdegerdes II., gives a report of the end of this persecution, which, although it cannot have been expressed in these terms by the prince himself, is yet worthy of notice, and may contain some truth. "When the king (Sapor II.) had shut up all the churches throughout Persia, the Christians next converted every house into a church, and performed their religious rites in every place; nay, they even supposed themselves to be temples, and regarded themselves as more and better than mere earthly creatures. They endured the severest persecutions, nor did their necks grow weary. Their goods were plundered, but still there were always more to plunder. The king was greatly incensed, and the executioners in despair; but the Christians were full of joy, bore all their sufferings with equanimity, and submitted patiently to the spoiling of their goods. When the king saw that they mocked at death, and looked upon it as nothing other than a way to their heavenly home, he commanded all the Magians and Mobed to disturb no man, but to suffer each to follow, without fear, his own faith."*

P. 160, *he desired an interview with the bishop.*] The first years only of the reign of Varanes were so unfavourable to the Christians. At a latter period—and the noble conduct of this bishop, Acacius, may have contributed to bring about the change—he became their friend. He declared Christianity to be, next after the doctrine of Ormuzd, better than all other religions. He showed great respect for the bishops. But the successor of Varanes, Jezdegerdes II., was again a violent enemy of the Christians.

P. 161, *they preferred to die as martyrs rather than to deny their faith.*] Their *manifesto* concluded with the following

* See the work so often cited above.

declaration:—"From this faith no power, no angel nor man can remove us; no fire, no sword, no death in the waves of the sea, no violence of tortures, whatever they may be. Decide as you please, provided you do but leave us our faith—we will seek here below for no other lord but you; as we will have in heaven no other God than Jesus Christ, for there is no other God besides him. But if you would rather hear something else from us than this great witness, then learn our determination. Our bodies are in your power; do with them according to your good pleasure. In your power is the rack, in ours is patience. You possess the sword, we have necks to offer you. We are no better than our fathers, who gave up property and life for the sake of the faith. Propose to us, then, no further questions on these matters, for our faith comes not from men. We are not to be taught like children. We are united inseparably with God, from whom nothing, either present, or in the future, or in all eternity, shall be able to separate us."*

Same page (161), *they were prevailed upon to give in their denial.*] It is true that many of the nobles, on this occasion, were induced to deny: but the attempt of the Persians to extirpate Christianity by force, and to introduce the religion of Zoroaster, stirred up a universal movement among the people, and a religious war. And this happened repeatedly. Some were betrayed into denial of the faith and treason to their country; but, on the other hand, there was shown also a zeal for the faith which sacrificed all things, and was ready to suffer all things for the holy cause, and a heroic courage in contending for the highest good.

P. 165. *Indicopoleustes.*] The Persian church then seems to have been active in promoting the extension of Christianity. Their commercial relations, and even the persecutions they endured, which led Christians to emigrate to other countries, might be the occasion of this. We find it stated that as early as the fourth century, under the reign of Sapor II., Christianity had been diffused by the churches, which were so flourishing in this country previous to the outbreak of the persecution, to the eastern countries, lying on the Caspian sea, and thence south, even to East India.† Here conclude the accounts which Cosmas gives respecting the Christians in India.

* History of the religious wars, by the bishop Elisæus, p. 20.

† See Elisæus, l. c. p. 30. According to Neumann's translation: This

P. 165, *where there was a Persian bishop.*] From the accounts of Cosmas it can by no means be inferred that Christianity was spread among the native inhabitants of the country.

P. 177, *bishop of the Goths.*] Ulphilas was born A.D. 318,* and probably educated in Christianity. He administered the office of church-reader in the little community which had already been formed among his people, till he was consecrated as a bishop in the year 348.† And he laboured partly for the

doctrine began to spread through the land and thence to countries towards the East: it came into the land of the Kushanians, and thence it spread itself south, even unto the Indies. Neumann explains the name Kushanians as belonging to a people in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea.

According to the Italian translation: Sino al paese dei Tartari e di là si estese alle parti meridionali sino alle Indie. A remarkable testimony concerning the route by which Christianity spread from Persia to the East Indies.

* We are indebted to Professor Waitz, in Kiel, for the publication of a very important fragment from a polemical tract, composed, as it should seem, by the Arian bishop Maximin, in which is to be found an essay on the life and labours of Ulphilas, by one of his disciples, the bishop Auxentius of Dorostorus (Silistria). This piece, edited by Professor Waitz, from a Parisian manuscript, has first made it possible to clear up the chronological confusion, and to throw more light on this obscure subject; and the editor himself has already made good use of it for this purpose. This fragment must henceforth be the basis of all future inquiries into the present subject. Ueber Leben und die Lehre des Ulphila. Bruchstücke eines ungedruckten Werkes aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Georg Waitz. Hanover, 1840. Now as it may be gathered from this work, that Ulphilas entered the episcopal office in his thirtieth year, and having administered that office forty years, died in 388, when the law cited in Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. IV. 1. 2, was enacted, it follows, that he was born in the year 318.

† The following is said respecting his appointment as bishop, by Auxentius, in the tract of Maximin, p. 20: Hic, Dei providentia et Christi misericordia, propter multorum salutem in gente Gothorum, de lectore triginta annorum episcopus est ordinatus, ut non solum esset hæres Dei et cohæres Christi, sed et in hoc per gratiam Christi imitor Christi et sanctorum ejus; ut quemadmodum sanctus David triginta annorum rex et propheta est constitutus, ut regeret et doceret populum Dei et filios Israel, ita et iste beatus tanquam propheta est manifestatus et sacerdos Christi ordinatus, ut regeret et corrigeret et doceret et edificaret gentem Gothorum, quod et Deo volente et Christo auxiliante per ministerium ejus admirabiliter est adimpletum; et sicuti Joseph in Ægypto triginta annorum est manifestatus, et quemadmodum Dominus

further extension of Christianity, and partly for the promotion of Christian knowledge and Christian life among those who, being until now destitute of teachers, had but a very scanty and imperfect knowledge of Christianity.

Christianity having, through the zealous efforts of Ulphilas, found a wide door of entrance among the Goths, the fury of the Pagans was excited against it the more; and perhaps the ruler of the Goths, who is called a violent enemy of Christianity in this period, was the same Athanaric* who still later appears as a persecutor of the Christians.† The persecution proves how deeply Christianity had struck root in the hearts of this people, for multitudes of men and women suffered as martyrs;‡ so that, as the bishop Auxentius, who reports this fact, expresses it, the persecutors themselves were abashed, while those who suffered the persecution obtained the crown.§ By reason of this persecution Ulphilas, having now administered his episcopal office seven years, was induced, with a large number of his countrymen, in the year 355, to cross over the Dunube and seek after a place of refuge within the Roman empire.||

et Deus noster Jesus Christus, filius Dei, triginta annorum secundum carnem constitutus et baptizatus, cœpit evangelium prædicare et animas hominum pascere; ita et iste sanctus, ipsius Christi dispositione et ordinatione, et in fame et in penuria prædicationis indifferenter agentem ipsam gentem Gothorum, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam et propheticam regulam emendavit et vivere docuit, et Christianos vere Christianos esse manifestavit et multiplicavit.

* This we may infer, with Prof. Waitz, from the fact that he is styled by Auxentius, in the tract of Maximin (p. 20), "judex Gothorum;" and Themistius says of the Gothic prince (Athanaric) with whom Valens had a war (de pace, p. 160): Τὴν μὲν τοῦ βασιλείως ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπαζιοῖ, τὴν τοῦ δικαστοῦ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ.

† Socrates, l. IV. c. 33.

‡ On this point, says Auxentius (l. c. p. 20): Ubi et ex invidia et operatione inimici tunc ab irreligioso et sacrilego judice Gothorum tyrannico terrore in barbarico Christianorum persecutio est excitata, ut Satanas, qui male facere cupiebat, nolens faceret bene ut quos desiderabat prævaricatores facere, et desertores, Christo opitulante et propugnante, fierent martyres et confessores.

§ Ut persecutor confunderetur, et qui persecutionem patiebantur, coronarentur; ut hic qui tentabat vincere, victus erubesceret, et qui tentabantur, victores gauderent.

|| The words of Auxentius (l. c.) are: Ubi et post multorum servorum et ancillarum Christi gloriosum martyrium, imminente vehementer ipsa persecutione, completis septem annis tantummodo in episcopatu, cum

By the negotiations of Ulphilas, for whom the emperor Constantius entertained a high respect, places for settlement were provided for these Goths in Mœsia. Men were fond of comparing Ulphilas with Moses, since under his guidance the Goths had accomplished this exodus from the midst of heathens, and delivered from the wrath of that other Pharaoh, Athanaric, had been conducted to a land where they could enjoy their religion securely, and without disturbance.* By this successful enterprise, he could not fail to have won upon the confidence of his people. He preached with great fervour; and to this end had made himself master of the Gothic, Greek, and Latin languages.† In this first bishop, from the midst of the German race, we see thus early a representative of that tendency which is said always to have distinguished the German people, and by virtue of which the greatest revolution in the development of the church was brought about; love for the sacred scriptures leading to the effort to make it accessible to the people. To this end he invented for the Goths an alphabet, and made use of it to give them a translation of the Bible in their own tongue. He is said to have composed theological and devotional tracts in all the three languages above mentioned.‡

It is unknown whether all the Christians among the Goths emigrated with Ulphilas, or whether many still remained

grandi populo confessorum de barbarico pulsus in solo Romanicæ a Constantio principe honorifice est susceptus.

* Philostorgius, who reports after a manner which accords with Auxentius this migration of the Goths under the guidance of Ulphilas, is right when he asserts that this expedition did not take place, as other writers asserted, in the reign of Valens, but places it too early, viz., under the reign of Constantine. It must have been not Constantine but Constantius, who is said to have called Ulphilas "the Moses of our time" (*ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μωσῆς*). This title is also given to Ulphilas by Auxentius, l. c.: *Sicuti Deus per Mosen de potentia et violentia Pharaonis et Ægyptiorum populum suum liberavit et rubrum mare transire fecit, et sibi servire providit, ita et per sæpe dictum Deus confessores sancti filii sui unogeniti de barbarico liberavit, et per Danubium transire fecit, et in montibus, secundum sanctorum imitationem, sibi servire decrevit.*

† As Auxentius says: *Græcam et Latinam et Gothicam linguam sine intermissione in una et sola ecclesia Christi prædicavit.*

‡ As Auxentius says: *Qui et ipsis tribus linguis plures tractatus et multas interpretationes, violentibus ad utilitatem et ædificationem, sibi ad æternam memoriam et mercedem, post se dereliquit.* He may perhaps here have had in his mind the Gothic translation of the Bible above mentioned.

behind, and continued to labour for the spread of Christianity. The seed sown by him produced an after-harvest in various ways; but Christianity was also introduced among the Goths from other quarters, as indeed it might have been by those bishops who resided in the adjacent provinces of the Roman empire. One of these, Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, we find afterwards in intimate correspondence with the church among the Goths who dwelt beyond the empire of the Romans. But the fresh spread of Christianity provoked once more a violent persecution from its old enemy, Athanaric. This took place in the year 370, and onward. Among the Gothic Christians of this time, we find men possessed of an ardent zeal, which led many of them to encounter martyrdom. Distinguished among these was Sabas, of whose history we have a very particular account from the Church to which he belonged. This report is, moreover, an important one, as it gives a very precise statement of the character of the persecution against the Christians among the Goths. It is plain, from this narrative, that it was not so much the people who were inflamed with fanaticism against Christianity, as the prince and chief men, who, influenced perhaps by political rather than religious motives, were seeking to suppress a foreign religion.

Sabas was a pious layman, of Gothic descent, who, from his early childhood, seems to have had no other object before him than to be a devout Christian. He got himself enrolled among the regularly-appointed church-singers, and in this vocation discharged his duty with great diligence and care. He led a rigidly abstemious life; he was a bold and decided witness for the truth and against idolatry, but without unnecessarily obtruding himself into notice. His zeal for the faith had already exposed him to many dangers. When the chief men among the Goths first began to persecute Christianity, they commanded the Christians, as had been done in the first centuries, to prove their abjuration of the faith by partaking of the meat offered in sacrifices. Now, the Pagans of the village where Sabas lived, were for resorting to an artifice, in order to deceive the Pagan authorities and save the Christians, who were their neighbours. Instead of meat which had been actually offered in sacrifice, they proposed to set before them, on the day of trial, other meat, which they pretended was such of which the Christians might partake without scruple, while the magistrates

supposed the terms of the law had been complied with. But Sabas could not consent to this deception, and pointed out the wrong of it to his fellow-believers. The Pagans, therefore, drove him from the village, when they found their trick had been frustrated by his means : but after a time they recalled him.

Some time afterwards, the Pagan magistrate directed another similar examination to be held in the same place, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were no apostates from the old popular religion. On this occasion, certain persons presented themselves with offerings, and declared themselves ready to take oath before the magistrate who managed the trial, that there were no Christians in their village ; but Sabas came forward and said openly, " So far as it concerns myself, let no one swear, for I am a Christian." Upon this the inhabitants of the village, who had removed the Christians from their houses to a place of concealment, declared on their oath, that, " there was but *one* Christian in the village." The person who conducted the examination, caused Sabas to be brought before the assembly, and asked the by-standers whether he owned any property. Being assured that he owned nothing but what was on his back, the Pagan contemptuously exclaimed, " Such a fellow can do neither good nor hurt," and ordered him to be cast out.

It must have become very evident, that by such repeated examinations, the object had in view, which was to extirpate Christianity, could not be accomplished ; and the less so as the Pagan people, instead of sharing in the fanaticism of their superiors, were quite willing to protect the Christians. The persecution of course became more violent when this was remarked. Soon after the Christian community of the village had celebrated the festival of Easter, Athanaric himself fell upon the place with a troop of armed men. The village preacher and Sabas were seized in the tents where they slept, bound in chains, and carried off, suffering much ill treatment on the way. The faith of Sabas, which triumphed over all his sufferings, irritated the fury of his persecutors. By the strength of his faith, which imparted even to his body an unusual power of endurance, enabling him to suffer without sinking, he went firmly through the whole, and nothing could disturb his cheerfulness. During great part of the night he was subjected to

various kinds of torture, till at length his tormentors fell asleep and left him bound upon the ground. A woman of the house, who arose in the night to make bread for the family, took pity on him and released him from his chains. He fearlessly remained on the spot, and assisted the woman in her work. The next morning, when Athanaric heard of this, he caused him to be bound again, and hung to a beam of the house. Then came certain persons in the name of Athanaric, and placing meat from the sacrifices before the priest and Sabas, told them to eat it and save their lives. Said the priest: "We are forbidden to partake of such meat. Tell Athanaric he may order us to be crucified, or to die in whatever way he pleases." But Sabas, whose pious feelings were not wholly unmixed with passionate excitement, asked: "From whom comes this message?" And being told, "From our lord Athanaric;" he exclaimed, "There is but one Lord, the God in heaven; but Athanaric is a godless man, and under the curse of God, and this food, like Athanaric who sends it to us, is unclean." One of Athanaric's people, incensed at these words, struck him with a club so severely on the breast that the beholders supposed the stroke would be fatal. But he uttered no word of pain, and to the smiter he said triumphantly: "Believe me, I felt it as little as if you had thrown upon me a lock of wool." He was now condemned to death by drowning. During the whole of the way, as he was led to the river where he was to die, he praised God that he had been pleased to bestow on him the privilege of dying as a martyr. Having arrived at the river, those who conducted him began to consult with each other about letting him go, as he had been guilty of no crime. Athanaric would probably never find it out. But Sabas, who already, with the eye of faith, saw heaven open before him, and wished not to exchange it for the earth, said, "Why do ye not execute your orders? I behold what you cannot see; already they wait in glorious apparel, who are come to take me hence." And while he was shouting praise and giving thanks to God, with his neck fastened to a piece of wood, he was thrown into the water. His body was then drawn from the stream and left to lie on the bank. But a Roman commander on the border, the Dux Soranus, caused the bones of the martyr to be conveyed to the other side, and sent them as precious relics to the church of Cappadocia, his native province,

in compliance with the request of his kinsman, the bishop Basil, of Cæsarea.*

The Christian communities among the Goths sent, on this occasion, a circular letter, embodying a report of all these facts, to the communities of Cappadocia, and to all the churches in Christendom. The letter began with these words: "What was said by the Apostle Peter, that in every nation he that feareth the Lord and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, has been verified in a powerful manner also at the present time; for we have in proof of it the life and sufferings of the blessed Sabas, who is a witness of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." And the letter concludes as follows: "Let a solemn festival be held, then, on the day in which he received the crown of martyrdom; and mention it to the more distant brethren, that so in the entire church a festival may be observed, and the Lord, who chose his servant, may be praised. Greet all the saints;—all the persecuted with us greet you. Praised for ever be He, who can conduct us all by his grace to the kingdom of heaven."†

The bones of Sabas, accompanied with the letter of the communities, a letter also from Ascholi, bishop of Thessalonica, and from the Dux Soranus,‡ arrived in that unhappy season for the churches of Cappadocia, when these communities were so rent asunder by the disputes and schisms which the supremacy of the Arian party, under the emperor Valens, had occasioned. Basil of Cæsarea, comparing the then state of the church with that of which he was reminded by the bones of the martyr and by the description of the conflicts endured by the Gothic Christians, wrote to the bishop Ascholi:§ "When we received your letter, and read it over and over, we

* For the conjecture is probably not unfounded, that Basil's ep. 155 was directed to this Dux Soranus. Basil writes: Καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἔαν καὶ λείψανα μαρτύρων τῇ πατρίδι ἐκπέμψῃς, ἵπτις ὡς ἐπίστευλας ἡμῖν, ὁ ἐκὶ διαγμὸς ποιῇ καὶ νῦν (it is presupposed, therefore, that this had been the case before) μαρτυρᾶς τῷ Κυρίῳ. T. III. b. p. 354, ed. Paris, 1839.

† This letter, which we have had occasion to quote before, is printed, in the Greek original, in the Actis Sanctorum, T. II. mens April. Appendix. f. 967.

‡ Letter 165 among those of Basil seems certainly much more to have been intended for this Dux than for the bishop Ascholi of Thessalonica, to whom it was addressed in the superscription.

§ Letter 164.

imagined ourselves transported back to those ancient days when the churches of God prospered, being grounded in the faith and united together in love; when harmony prevailed as among the manifold members of one body; when it was manifest who was the persecutor and who were the persecuted; when the churches attacked increased continually in numbers; when the blood of the martyrs only served to multiply the champions of the faith. Then we Christians maintained peace among each other; that peace which our Lord left as a legacy, but of which at present not a single vestige remains."

Ascholi^{us} having mentioned in his letter a certain Eutyches, a Cappadocian, who, as we may infer from some expressions of Basil, had in earlier times laboured abundantly among the Goths,* and having spoken in praise of their common country, Cappadocia, whence all these blessings had come, Basil replied: "By reminding us of the past, you have rejoiced our hearts, while at the same time we are pained by the signs which we now see before us; for no one of us is to be compared with Eutyches. Indeed, so far are we from being in any condition to lead barbarians by the power of the Spirit and the efficacy of his gracious gifts to gentleness of manner, that by the superabundance of our sins the very civilized themselves have much rather been made barbarians."†

It is a noble trait in the church-historian Socrates, that he finds reason, notwithstanding their want of correct knowledge, to respect the love of Christ which led the Arian Goths to encounter martyrdom, and that he acknowledges them as genuine martyrs.‡ Yet the fact which he assumes, is certainly not correct with regard to all the martyrs among them; for, although Arianism was propagated in the school of Ulphilas, yet the seeds of Christianity came also among the Goths from other quarters, by means of teachers sent from orthodox communities; and hence with them had been introduced another form of doctrine than the Arian. This was no doubt the case

* His words are (s. 2): Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου ἀνδρὸς Εὐτυχοῦς εἰς μνήμην ἡμᾶς ἤγαγε.

† "Οἱ γε τοσούτον ἀπέχουεν βαρβάρους ἐξημερῶσαι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χαρισμάτων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἡμέτερος ἔχοντας τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐξημερῶσθαι. From which words we may infer what had been done by Eutyches the Cappadocian among the Goths.

‡ His words are (l. IV. c. 33): Οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπλότῃ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν.

with regard to the martyrs last named, as is shown by the circular letter of the Gothic Christians which we have quoted.*

Ulphilas himself laboured as a bishop among his people forty years. The last ten years of his life brought with them much that was a source of pain to him; when the form of church doctrine, to which he was warmly opposed, the creed drawn up by the council of Nice, became more and more dominant even in the Eastern church, and was favoured by the civil power. He himself was, in the year 388, called, with other bishops agreeing with him in doctrine, by the emperor Theodosius, to Constantinople, for the purpose of holding there a new conference on the matters in dispute. By the ruling doctrinal party, however, this negotiation, which, indeed, under the existing circumstances could have done no good,† was prevented; and an imperial law was enacted, which forbade all new proceedings of this sort with regard to matters of controversy.‡ Ulphilas and those associated with him looked upon this regulation as only a proof of the want of confidence of their opponents in the goodness of their cause, and a token that the doctrine which they deemed to be the truth, was to be suppressed by force.§ This was the last painful event which the worthy bishop, who had grown gray in the cause of Christianity, and in labouring for the Christian education of his people, experienced. He died at Constantinople, A.D. 388, after having drawn up a statement of his faith as a legacy for his flock, and laid down, in the prospect of death, a confession of the doctrines which he preached and ever maintained. He left

* This may be inferred from the doxology, in contradiction to Arianism, with which the letter concludes: *Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ* (God the Father) *δοξα κ. τ. λ., σὺν παιδὶ μονογενῇ [εἰ] καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.*

† See onward, doctrinal controversies.

‡ The law which, since the time of its enactment is certain, affords an important chronological landmark. The law which is printed in the above cited work of Maximin. p. 23. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. IV. 1, 2.

§ Maximin says (p. 23) *Præfati præpositi hæretici,—so appeared to be the adherents of the Nicene Homousion—omnibus viribus institerunt, ut lex daretur, quæ concilium prohiberet.*

|| Auxentius says of Ulphilas, (p. 21,) *Qui et in exitu suo usque in ipso mortis momento per testamentum fidem suam scriptam populo sibi credito dereliquit.* The first words of this testament are: *Ego Ulfila, episcopus et confessor, sic credidi; et in hac fide sola et vera, testamentum facio ad Dominum meum.*

behind him disciples who laboured on the foundation he had laid. One of these was the bishop Auxentius, to whom we are indebted for the account of his life from which we have so largely drawn. The latter says of him: "The man, whom I cannot praise as he deserves, and of whom I dare not be wholly silent, to whom I am more indebted than all others, as he bestowed more pains on me than on others, for he took me as his disciple from my earliest years, when my parents gave me to him; taught me to study the Holy Scriptures, opened to me the truth, and by the mercy of God and the grace of Christ, brought me up bodily and spiritually as his son in the faith."*

P. 182, *to the common participation in the communion.*] While Themistius, taking his view from the position of the ancients, held the chasm which separated the Goths, as barbarians, from the cultivated Hellenico-Roman world, to be one grounded in an original difference of nature, and, therefore, never to be filled up; and wholly in accordance with the spirit of Plato, applied what the latter had said respecting the relation of the passions to reason in individuals, as in the state, so to the relation of the nationality of the barbarians to that of the Greeks and Romans;† the church-fathers, on the contrary, point out in what Christianity had already begun to effect among these tribes, the same power of the gospel to transform man's nature, which that gospel uniformly carried along with it. Thus, Athanasius testifies, in the passage before cited, where he speaks, in connection with the Persians, of the Armenians, and the nations dwelling beyond the ocean, the Goths: "Who could overthrow, in all these tribes of men, the worship of idols, and plant virtue? Who, except our Lord

* Quem condigne laudare non sufficio et penitus tacere non audeo, cui plus omnium ego sum debitor, quantum et amplius in me laboravit, qui me a prima ætate mea a parentibus meis discipulum suscepit, et sacras literas docuit, et veritatem manifestavit, et per misericordiam Dei et gratiam Christi et carnaliter et spiritaliter ut filium suum in fide educavit. P. 20.

† De pace, p. 157: Εἶναι τι καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ βάρβαρον φύλον, λίαν αἰσθητὰ καὶ δυσπειθεῖς, τὸν Θεὸν λόγῳ καὶ τὰς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, ἀντικαθήμενα γένη τῷ λογισμῷ, καθάπερ Ῥωμαῖοις, Σκύθαι καὶ Γερμανοί. As reason is not wholly to destroy the passions and desires implanted by nature, but to bridle them; so, too, the barbarian tribes, answering to these lower powers in relation to the reason which is destined to rule, are not to be destroyed, but compelled to obedience.

Jesus Christ, who not only preached by his disciples, but by his efficacious influence on the minds of men, induced them to lay aside their rudeness of manners, and, abandoning the worship of the gods of their country, to acknowledge him? Who is it, that unites together in harmony those who had been used to hate each other? Who else could effect this, but the beloved Son of the Father, the common Saviour of all, Jesus Christ, whose love led him to suffer everything for us? Yes; it had been predicted, even from the beginning, what empire of peace he was to found,—for the Holy Scriptures announce (Isaiah ii. 4), ‘Then they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.’ Nor is this any longer incredible; for even now the barbarians, to whom the rudeness of manners is innate, so long as they still offer to idols, rage against one another, and cannot rest a moment easy without the sword; but no sooner do they receive the doctrine of Christ, than they turn from the pursuits of war to agriculture, and instead of arming their hands with the sword, lift them up in prayer; and, in a word, from henceforth, instead of waging war with each other, enter the lists against Satan and the spirits of evil; and, by self-command and the virtues of the soul, seek to gain the victory over them. This is an evidence of the divine power of our Saviour—and the wonderful thing is, that they remain faithful unto death, and die as witnesses for Christ.”*

P. 187. *This theory was the prevailing one in the time of Constantine.*] There were three different ways, one crossing the other, in which the emperor Constantine was used to consider his relation to the church. The first, and that to which he was most inclined, since it had sprung out of his earlier eclecticism, and besides was ever and anon recommended anew by the influence of moderate bishops, or of philosophers given to Platonism, was the principle of religious tolerance, which made him respect the rights of individual conviction. And sometimes, also, we see him led back to this his original principle by his own sad experience of the evils resulting from mixing up politics with religion. Next to this was the *theocratic* theory, which naturally found its way into his mind from

* De incarnatione verbi, s. 51, 52.

the previous development of the church. The third principle was the religioso-political, by which he was led to suppose, or to pretend, that, as head over the state, he was authorised to exert an influence on the affairs of the church.

P. 191. *Occasion for the interposition of a foreign power.*] As all the elements which had a disturbing influence on the progressive development of Christianity, grew out of those principles of the old world, which, overthrown by the gospel, had again asserted their validity and contributed to modify the shaping of Christianity itself, so we see the same thing repeated in the present case;—on one side, in the Roman church, the Jewish principle of an outward theocracy; on the other, in the Greek church, the pagan principle of a state religion, or the political element, subordinating every other development to its own.

P. 198. *No further appeal could be made from it.*] This was nothing foreign from the constitution of the Roman law. The bishops only had conceded to them the power which was allowed to arbitrators (*arbitris*) chosen *a compromisso* by the two contending parties.

P. 202. *Addition to note *.*] The collectors of the taxes in Cappadocia had been in the habit of exacting from the peasants an oath; thus exposing them to the temptation of committing perjury. Basil of Cæsarea, who had often protested in their assemblies against this abuse, finally wrote to the governor of the province, as follows: “We have one way left, which is by this letter, to adjure you before God and men to forbear exposing the souls of men to death, and to devise some other method of collecting the taxes, but leave to men their souls unharmed. For the exacting of oaths is of no use or advantage towards collecting the taxes, and it is certainly harmful to the souls of men. Let them but once learn to regard taking a false oath as a trifle, and they will no longer be compelled honestly to pay their taxes, but will suppose that in the oath they have found a convenient means of deception and of evading their obligations.”*

P. 207. *Receive him back without inflicting any further punishment.*] The civil power acknowledged this influence of the church, in promoting the interests of humanity, and

* See epist. 85.

strove to uphold it. By a law enacted in the year 409, it was made the duty of judges to inquire every Sunday of the prisoners, whether they had been kindly treated, and it was assumed as a matter of course, that it belonged to the vocation of the bishops to admonish the judges to the humane treatment of prisoners.* A law of the emperor Justinian, passed in the year 529, made it incumbent on the bishops to visit the prisons on Wednesdays and Fridays (on these particular days doubtless in memory of Christ's passion), to inquire carefully into the crimes for which each prisoner was confined, and about the treatment which he received, and to report whatever they observed contrary to good order to the superior magistrates. They were also to see to it, that no person was confined elsewhere than in the public prisons.†

P. 250. *Opposition to new forms of error.*] Vincentius, a monk belonging to the cloister of Lerina, an island in Provence, reduced these ideas, dispersed through the writings of Augustin, to systematic form, in a book which constitutes an epoch in the history of the notions respecting tradition. He published this work in 434, some years after Augustin's death, under the title of *Commonitorium*, or *Tractatus peregrini adversum hæreticos*. We find here, how, in forming his conception of tradition, he had struck on the conservative element—that of progressive evolution, without which the preservation of the original truth is impossible in the impure current of time. The true element in Montanism, but wrongly applied by it, inasmuch as it considered the progressive evolution as one to be effected by means of new revelations introduced from without, had passed over into the church, and had been transferred to the evolution grounded in the very essence of Christianity, and proceeding out of itself. Respecting this, Vincentius pertinently remarks: “Beyond doubt, we ought to hold to a progressive evolution of Christian truth; for everything in the world advances from one stage to another as it grows older.‡ But this progressive evolution presupposes the

* Nec deerit antistitum Christianæ religionis cura laudabilis, quæ ad observationem constituti judicis hanc ingerat monitionem. Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. III. l. 7. † Cod. Justinian. l. I. Tit. IV. l. 22 et 23.

‡ Nullusne ergo in ecclesia Christi profectus habebitur religionis? Habeatur plane et maximus. Nam quis ille est tam invidus hominibus, tam exosus Deo, qui istud prohibere conetur? C. 28.

existence of an abiding principle in the peculiar nature of the thing itself. The contrary to this would not be a growth, but a change to something else. The original doctrines of heavenly wisdom must, with the progress of time, needs become more exactly defined; but they should not be altered or curtailed. They must be unfolded in greater clearness and distinctness, but they should lose nothing of their pure and complete individual nature.* The antagonism of new errors has brought out this more precise determination and clearer exposition of the truth. By means of this antagonism, what had before been a matter of tacit tradition, came to be fully expressed in the letter.

But instead of the Montanistic way of rendering the thing outward, is substituted another. According to the view here taken, the progressive evolution is necessarily confined to a determinate organ. It expresses itself through the general councils; and to the progress thus expressed, all individuals must submit their judgment. Thus the exposition of the sacred writings, acknowledged to be the only and perfect source of the knowledge of the truths of faith, and the deduction of the doctrines of faith from them, were made to depend on a church authority of this kind. This authority alone is the sure guide to what is right, amid the different shades and oppositions of human opinion.† The absence of an art of interpretation founded on scientific principles, which might be a safeguard against arbitrary conjectures, was to be supplied by the constraining authority of an outward rule; and instead of trusting in the intrinsic power of the truth, and the free working of the Holy Spirit in the church, men were to rely on an outward church guidance of this sort, which was calculated to check and cramp the free individual development. This human government of the church, it was maintained, is the necessary means by which the ever-abiding influence of Christ is secured.

P. 381. *Jovinian, the protestant of his time, &c.*] Out of the depths of the Christian consciousness, silently unfolding

* Accipiant licet evidentiam, lucem, distinctionem, sed retineant necesse est plenitudinem, integritatem, proprietatem. C. 30.

† See c. 2: Multum necesse est, propter tantos tam varii erroris amfractus, ut propheticae et apostolicae interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensus normam dirigatur.

itself in monasticism, proceeded forth here—a foretoken of what long afterwards took place by means of Luther—the reaction against the ordinary monkish morality, and the doctrinal errors connected therewith.

While it was customary, in Christian morals, to make the distinction of a higher and a lower position, the latter consisting in an observance of the “precepts,” the former in a fulfilment of the “evangelical councils,” Jovinian opposed to this distinction the unity of the divine life grounded in faith on the Redeemer and flowing out of the new birth. This he considered to be the highest and principal thing—and he knew of but one antithesis, that between redemption and perseverance in the estrangement from God; between a life devoted to this present world, and a life rooted in the fellowship with God; compared with this, all other differences, in his estimation, sunk into insignificance.

P. 382. *Hence he continued to live as a monk, &c.* Take whatever course he might, however, he could not escape the hateful charge of being actually guilty of all such consequences as his opponents chose to derive from his doctrines. If, in accordance with his principles, he led a life of more freedom, though he continued to be a monk; if he made no outward show of monkish asceticism in his dress, this was construed as an abandoning of the holiness of monachism for the elegance of common life, and he was accused of luxury.* And Jerome bids him either to marry, and so testify by that fact that he placed the married life on a parity with the life of celibacy; or else cease to contend in words against those with whom in practice he agreed.† It would seem that, on account of the false reports which, owing to the misconstruction put upon his conduct, had got abroad concerning him, he was led to publish a tract in explanation of his principles.‡ Indeed, he had been urged to do this by others.§

* Iste formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus, dealbatus, et quasi sponsus semper incedens. Hieron. c. Jov. Lib. I. s. 40.

† Aut uxorem ducat, ut æqualem virginitatem nuptiis probet, aut si non duxerit frustra contra nos verbis agit cum opere nobiscum sit. L. c.

‡ From which Jerome often cites passages in his work against Jovinian; and this is the source from which we derive our account of Jovinian's doctrines.

§ This we take from his own words as quoted by Jerome, lib. I. s. 2:

P. 383. *He attended the marriage feast at Cana.*] And—he added, in opposition to the tortuous expositions of holy writ, in which men allowed themselves to indulge so as to bring them into harmony with their own opinions—it is quite another thing, if, in the foolish spirit of dispute, you affirm, that he attended a feast for the purpose of fasting, and that, after the manner of false teachers, he said: “This I eat, that I do not eat. I will not drink of the wine which I have made out of water.”*

P. 386. *Had not as yet been really renewed.*] He held the baptism of such persons to be no better than a hypocritical one. Hence he could not assent to the distinction, so commonly made in those times, between sins committed before, and sins committed after baptism; for a baptism after which men might again fall into sin, was to him the same as no baptism at all. If persons who had thus fallen, afterwards came to true repentance and faith, he supposed that they then received, for the first time, the baptism of the spirit, of which before they had received only the outward sign. Hence, he would not admit that there was any difference between those who remained faithful to their baptismal vows from the first, and those who, after having received the outward baptism, had fallen into sin, and had then first, by means of true repentance, been really converted. Accordingly, addressing himself to such, he says: “Though you have fallen, repentance will restore you; and you who were hypocrites in your baptism, will with your repentance obtain genuine faith.”† Now, if we consider that Jovinian did not admit that there were different degrees of sin, we are obliged to conclude from these remarks, that in his opinion the regenerate were incapable of falling into any actual sin whatever.

P. 416. *The prevailing spirit of the times.*] We see that pictures or images of Christ, of the Apostles, of martyrs, and other saints were then widely diffused; and that people were in

Satisfacio invitatis (it should read invitatus) non ut claro curram nomine, sed a rumore purgatus vivam vano.

* Porro aliud est, si stulta contentione dicitis, eum isse ad prandium jejunaturum, et impostorum more dixisse: hoc comedo, illud non comedo, nolo vinum bibere, quod ex aquis creavi. Lib. II. s. 5.

† Quod etsi cecideritis, redintegrabit vos poenitentia, et qui in baptismo fuistis hypocritæ, eritis in poenitentia solidæ fidei. Lib. II. s. 37.

the habit of prostrating themselves before them : but that instead of representing Christ on the Cross, against which a certain feeling of propriety revolted, they adhered to the ancient custom, and employed the sign of the cross as a memorial of Christ's passion.

P. 479. *Was the thought which Jerome here makes so prominent, actually present to the consciousness of the people?*] He evidently has respect only to the Christian truth, lying at the ground of the veneration paid to the saints ; but not to the popular notions in which this truth became continually more and more obscured. And yet, in opposition to Vigilantius, he brings forward the example of the emperor and the enthusiastic devotion of the multitude.*

P. 482. *Miracles ought, among Christians, no longer to be admitted.*] In comparing together these two men, who were in many respects so opposed to each other, Vigilantius and Jerome, we perceive, in the one, an indulgent recognition of the Christian spirit ever lying at the ground of the erroneous expression of Christian feelings, but this without a right earnest zeal for the preservation of Christian truth in its purity ;—while in the other, we do indeed discern this earnest zeal, but look in vain for that mild indulgence of the religious feelings, even in their aberrations, which should never be separated from the zeal for reformation.

P. 488. *Introduction to Section Fourth.*] It might seem that the case would be quite different with the course of the development of Christian doctrines, from what we found it to be with regard to the matters treated of in the other sections of this period of our history. It might seem that revolution brought about by the conversion of the Roman emperors to Christianity would not have the same importance in its bearing on doctrines as on the other branches of Christian development. In looking

* As characteristic of the times, take the following passage: *Sacrilegus fuit Constantius imperator, qui sanctas reliquias Andreæ, Lucæ, et Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim, apud quas dæmones rugiunt et inhabitatores Vigilantii illorum se sentire præsentiam confitentur? Sacrilegus dicendus est nunc Augustus Arcadius, qui ossa beati Samuelis longo post tempore de Judæa transtulit in Thraciam? Omnes episcopi non solum sacrilegi, sed fatui judicandi, qui rem vilissimam et cineres dissolutos in serico et vase aureo portaverunt? Stulti omnium ecclesiarum populi, qui occurrerunt sanctis reliquiis, et tanta lætitia, quasi præsentem viventemque prophetam cernerent susceperunt.*

back on the conflict which had been gone through with Gnosticism ; on the position occupied by the school of the great Origen ; on the antagonisms and conciliations introduced by means of this school ; we cannot fail to perceive that, independent of all external agencies, a new stadium of development must now necessarily commence. When Christianity had once asserted and distinctly expressed its own peculiar nature in the conflict with Judaism, Hellenism, and Orientalism, this opposition to that which was extraneous to itself would naturally relax ; and the more inward antagonisms between different doctrinal tendencies, which had in the meantime been forming, would now make their appearance, in order, by their mutual adjustment and conciliation with each other, to prepare the way for a higher unity. Next after the stage of development, the distinctive character of which we may designate as the predominantly *apologetic* stage, would follow a new one, which we may call the *systematizing period*. The school of Origen forms the transition from the apologetic to the systematizing tendency ; as, in fact, Origen constitutes, on the one hand, the highest point of the apologetic tendency, and on the other, the starting point of the new systematizing development. The termination of the first and the commencement of the second stage of development meet together in him. A great and important turning-point had, then, in the natural course of things, here occurred.

P. 494. *Augustin, who bore the most distinguished part in the controversy above mentioned.*] Augustin has himself described the common centre alluded to in the previous paragraph, in language which we may compare with that of Gregory Nazianzen. (Note, p. 493.) "The whole essence of the Christian faith," says he, "reposes in the opposition and contrariety between two men, of whom the one is he through whom we were brought into the bondage of sin, and the other He by whom we are redeemed from sin ; as in truth the one ruined us in himself, in that he did his *own will*, the other redeemed us in himself, in that he fulfilled not his own will, but the will of Him who sent him. For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."* And

* In causa duorum hominum, quorum per unum venundati sumus sub peccato, per alterum redimimur a peccatis ; quorum ille nos in se per-

from this central point of the Western system of faith may also have proceeded the reaction of the Christian consciousness in purifying the Christian church by means of the German reformation. So it was not the spirit of the Oriental, but that of the Western church, which alone could give birth to such an event.

P. 498. *Thus foisting into, or implying in, the Bible, what really was not there.*] But it is evident, also, how with the intention of thus showing the highest reverence for the sacred writings by regarding everything they contain as alike divine, and everywhere looking in them for mysteries of divine revelation, men were driven, in applying these principles to particular cases, to sacrifice that true respect for the scriptures which is only to be preserved by inquiring honestly into their true meaning and contents; and we are here reminded of what we observed proceeding from the same cause in the period previous to this, viz. a tendency to convert the historical portions of scripture into myths.

P. 499. *As was the case, for instance, with Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Chrysostom.*] Thus Theodore of Mopsuestia distinguishes the principle of actuation by the Holy Spirit, which is always one and the same, from the diversity of its forms of manifestation, which is conditioned on the different ends to be attained. "It was," says he, "one and the same Spirit who communicated his grace to those that were accounted worthy of receiving such influences; but the effects were manifold, according to the necessities of each particular case,"—in proof of which he cites 2 Corinth. iv. 13.* The retirement of all consciousness of self and of the outward world—the ecstatic state—he explains as owing to the necessary abstraction of the mind from present and temporal things in order to be prepared for receiving the revelation of divine

didit. faciendo voluntatem suam, non ejus a quo factus est; iste nos in se salvos fecit, non faciendo voluntatem suam, sed ejus, a quo missus est; in horum ergo duorum hominum causa proprie fides Christiana consistit. Unus est enim Deus, et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus. De peccato originali, s. 28.

* Πολύτροποι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐνεγίνοντο αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐνέργειαι, καθ' ἃς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἰδέχοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Commentar. in Naum. c. i. in Wegnern Theodori quæ supersunt omnia, Vol. I. Berolin. 1834, p. 397.

realities.* “For,” says he, “if we cannot fitly receive the instructions of our teachers unless our minds are wholly withdrawn from all other subjects, and are intent on that which is taught, then how could those men receive such exalted revelations without calling away their thoughts from present things at the time of those revelations?”† He attributes it to the essential character of an ecstasy of this sort, that the subject-matter of the divine revelation should be presented in the form of a voice heard, or of a vision to the mental perception of him who received the revelation.‡

That erroneous view of the Bible as a book absolutely divine—a mere codex of divine revelation—made many unwilling to receive the epistle to Philemon into the canon of the New Testament, because everything in this was only human—no trace of divine revelation seemed to be found in this epistle.§ Many falsely applied the correct distinction between the divine and the human elements in the inspiration of the Apostles by the Holy Spirit, making along with this correct distinction a wrong separation, and failing to trace the organic relation between the two. The Apostles—said they—did not speak always and all things so, as that Christ spake in them; for human weakness could not have endured the continuous indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Everything connected with the gratifying of earthly wants, as eating and drinking, was certainly excluded. The remark of St. Paul, Gal. ii. 20, that it was not he that lived, but Christ lived in him, did not admit of being applied to everything. So, too, the prophets, after having uttered their predictions, returned again to the ordinary state of consciousness and were like other men. Christ ex-

* Ἐκστάσει ἅπαντες ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων ἰδέχοντο τὴν γινῶσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἡσχρῆν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐννοίαις πόρρω που τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως γεγονότας, οὕτω δυνήθηναι τῇ τῶν δεικνυμένων θεωρίᾳ προσανέχειν μὴν. L. c. p. 397.

† Μὴ τῷ λογισμῷ πρότερον κατὰ τὸν τῆς θεωρίας καίρον ἐξισταμένοις τῶν παρόντων;

‡ The διδασκαλία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ τινὸς λαλοῦντος ἀκούειν· ἔστι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τινὰ ὀπτασίαν ὁρῶντες μετ’ ἐκείνης ἤκουον τῶν λεγομένων. Thus he explains the vision of Peter in the Acts, the vision of John the Baptist at the baptism of Christ. See the fragment in the Catena to John published by the Jesuit Corderius.

§ The words in Chrysostom, Argumentum in ep. ad Philemon. T. XI. f. 772: Περιττὸν εἶναι τὸ καὶ ταύτην προσκῆσθαι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἴγε ὑπὲρ πράγματος μικροῦ ἡξίωσιν, ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός.

cepted, the Holy Spirit abode with no one at all times.* Jerome, in opposition to such, refers to the inseparable connection of the divine and human elements in Christianity; and with still greater clearness Chrysostom unfolds the same argument: "If one lives," says he, "in a spiritual manner, the mode of his appearance, his demeanour and walk, his mode of speech, and, in a word, everything about him, will profit those who contemplate it."†

The Antiochian school was also led, by its peculiar exegetical bent, to another mode of apprehending the relation of the Old to the New Testament. While by the allegorizing method of interpretation it was easy to introduce the whole doctrine of the New Testament into the Old, the Antiochians were impelled by their peculiar bent and their hermeneutical principles, to inquire, what the Old Testament writers, under those determinate historical conditions and from their own peculiar points of view, consciously meant to say. But at the same time they recognized also the higher spirit, which pervades the entire Old Testament,—the ideas which pointed beyond the Old Testament and into the New. Hence they distinguished the ideal from the real historically conditioned element in the Old Testament scriptures; the idea lying at the ground of the consciousness of the writers enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and filling their minds, which had found its realization in Christ, and which after its realization had first been unfolded to a clearer consciousness, from the peculiar form presented by the circumstances of the times, in which they had apprehended this idea. They separated and held apart, what the prophets meant to say at their own peculiar historical point of view, and what the Spirit of God, which actuated them, aimed at through them. Thus they distinguished a conscious and an unconscious prophecy; and by means of their distinctions, equal justice could be done to faith and to knowledge, and the antagonism reconciled betwixt the philologico-historical and the religious

* Non semper apostolum, nec omnia Christo in se loquenti dixisse, quia nec humana imbecillitas unum tenorem Sancti Spiritus ferre potuisset. Excepto Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in nullo Sanctum Spiritum permansisse. Hier. præf. ad Philemon. ed. Vallarsi, p. 741, 742.

† "Ὅταν τις πνευματικῶς ζῇ, καὶ σχήματα καὶ βαδίσματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ πράγματα τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὠφελεῖ. L. c. f. 773.

points of view. The object already aimed at, as we endeavoured to show in the first volume, by many among the Gnostics, was expressed and unfolded by the Antiochians with a clearer scientific consciousness. Thus, for example, says Theodore of Mopsuestia: "Many of the wonderful things that happened, whether to the people at large or to those who were chosen for some particular end, the Holy Scriptures express, so far as it concerns them, hyperbolically; and, to a casual glance, the letter seems here to possess no truth. But such things are found to be true, when they are applied to the Lord Jesus Christ himself; who, as he in all respects made an end to the shadow of the law, and substituted in its place the truth which answers to it, so therefore exhibits to view the truth of such expressions."* The promise given to Abraham, that in him and his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, referred in its literal meaning to his bodily posterity; but in reality and truth to Christ, through whom the nations were blessed in the true sense.† In like manner he explains the promises given to David respecting the kingdom which was to proceed from his house, in a twofold manner.‡ Hence Theodore, in explaining the citations from the Old Testament into the New, could distinguish the sense of the passages in the original connection of the Old Testament, and the application made of them by the Apostles.§ Looking separately at the different stages in the evolution of revealed religion, he affirmed, that, in the Old Testament only, the unity of God, but not the trinity was as yet revealed.|| He thought this would be sufficiently apparent, even from the fact that the Apostles, after having lived for so long a time in familiar intercourse with Christ, were still ignorant of the higher sense

* Λέγει μὲν ὑπερβολικώτερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἡ γραφή, τῆς λέξεως κατὰ τὸ πρόχρον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐχούσης, εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἀληθὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεται τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐν ἅπασιν παύσας μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὴν σκίαν, ἐπεισαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν ἰοκίαν, εἰκότως καὶ τῶν φωνῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. See the commentary on the minor prophets, ed. Wegner, p. 612.

† We may compare also what Theodore says in his Comment. on Joel. I. p. 156, etc.

‡ See the Comment. on Micah. l. c. p. 354.

§ e. g. Rom. iii. 12 in the above-mentioned Comment. p. 501, and in many other places.

|| See the above-mentioned Comment. on the Minor prophets.

in which he was the Son of God, but had denominated him the Son of God only in the sense in which men had been previously wont to understand the phrase, as indicating that he had been privileged with enjoying a peculiar union with God.*

P. 503, bottom. *At length he was fully convinced that Manicheism was a delusion.*] Yet he was already sufficiently master of the system to adjust everything according to the principles of the Manichean dualism. He composed a work on taste considered from this point of view, his tract *De apto et pulchro*, dedicated to Hierius, a Roman rhetorician, in which he places the opposition between good and evil beside that of the beautiful and the deformed; and endeavoured to trace everywhere in the spiritual and moral, as in the natural world, the same dualism betwixt the monad and the dyad.

P. 508. *That divine things must be incorporated with the life and affections, before we can be capable of an intellectual knowledge of them.*] That the understanding and knowledge of divine things presupposed, and flowed from, self-surrendering love,—as he says—“We must first love with a perfect affection him whom we would know.” “By the life,” says he, “we make ourselves worthy of knowing what we believe.” It seemed clear to him that religious knowledge must proceed from the heart, that it was only through the entire surrendering of the soul that truth satisfying to the mind could be found. “The love,” says he, “instilled by the Holy Spirit, leads to the Son, that is, to the wisdom of God by which the Father himself becomes known; for wisdom and truth can in nowise be found, unless when sought after by all the powers of the soul. But when they are sought after in a manner worthy of them, they cannot withdraw and conceal themselves from those that love them. By love is the longing; by love, the seeking; by love, the knocking; by love, the revealing; and finally, by love, the persevering in that which is revealed.”†

* Καὶ τούτου γε ἀπόδειξις αὐτάρχης ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων γένοιτο ἄν, οἱ, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, ἐπὶ μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ συγγηγνοότες αὐτῷ, Χριστὸν μὲν ὁμολόγουν, ἰγνωκότες διὰ πολλῆς διδασκαλίας, υἱὸν δὲ καθ' ὃν ἔφην λόγον, Θεοῦ οὐκ ᾔπίσταντο, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ οἰκίωσιν ἔλεγον Θεοῦ υἱὸν τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὸ τῶν πρόσθεν ἔθος ἁγίων τε καὶ δικαίων. In the above-mentioned comment on the Minor prophets, p. 639.

† Si sapientia et veritas non totis animi viribus concupiscatur, inveniri

Vol. iv. p. 30. *The archdeacon Athanasius.*] Athanasius had been destined and educated from his boyhood for the church; for the bishop Alexander had long before had his eye turned upon him. The occasion was this. On a festival in commemoration of the bishop Peter of Alexandria, who was martyred in the year 311, Alexander observed a troop of boys at their sports, imitating the rites of the church, in which Athanasius played the part of bishop, and performed all the ceremonies customary at the baptism of catechumens.* This appeared to the bishop a foretoken of what the boy was destined one day to become. He was educated with reference to the spiritual order, and became early distinguished for his Christian zeal, his intellectual gifts, and progress in knowledge. When a young man, he wrote the apologetical discourse which has already been mentioned. The zeal and acuteness with which he defended the doctrine of the unity of essence at the council of Nice, was the occasion of his being chosen, after the death of Alexander, the latter's successor in the bishopric, although he had not yet arrived at the canonical age. But the opposition to his choice, occasioned by his youth, nourished the germ of a future schism,† which was the more disastrous on account of the opposition of views previously existing in this church.

P. 51. *Were to be made Sons of God.*] Like Sabelius, Marcellus distinguished the divine essence in itself, the unity in repose, from the different modes in which God revealed himself in creation and in the redemption;—the latter being designated by the names Logos and Holy Spirit.

nullo pacto potest. At si ita quærat, ut dignum est, subtrahere sese atque abscondere a suis dilectoribus non potest. After quoting Matth. vii. 7; x. 26; Amore petitur, amore quæritur, amore pulsatur, amore revelatur, amore denique in eo, quod revelatum fuerit permanetur. L. c. s. 31.

* We find no good reason for questioning the truth of the much disputed story coming from the members of Athanasius' family. Rufinus, from whom the account proceeds, says: Sicuti ab his, qui cum ipso vitam duxerant, accepimus. Hist. eccles. lib. I. c. 14.

† The words of Pachomius, in his letter to the bishop Ammon, are: Ἄρα τῷ καταστῆναι Ἀθανάσιον, ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες αἰτιῶνται τὸ κρῖμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γινόμενον, προβαλλόμενοι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τὸ νέον καὶ σχίσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ σπουδάζοντες. See acta Sanctorum, mens. Mai. T. III. the Appendix to the 14 Mai. f. 65.

The procession of the Logos from God, by virtue of that *δραστική ἐνέργεια*, appears to him the intermediate agency in producing the entire creation. Moreover, he spoke of an evolution of the monad to a triad, like Sabellius; and also made it the final end and issue of the redemption, that all things should return back to the unity from which they had proceeded.* We shall still further unfold his views of this, which he contemplated as the final consummation, in connection with what we have to say respecting his doctrine of the person of Christ. Moreover, the phrase "three hypostases or persons" seemed to Marcellus to interfere with the correct apprehension of the divine unity, and to mark too strongly the notion of separation.†

P. 58. *More decidedly pronounced in the character of Eunomius.*]—This strongly decided bent made him also an opponent of many elements entering into the religious spirit of those times, which Arius had received;—as, for example, the veneration paid to martyrs and to relics.‡ While Arius, as we have remarked, had won veneration as an ascetic; Eunomius, on the contrary, was opposed to the prevailing ascetic tendency. What to others was a matter of special veneration in Basil of Cæsarea, the marks left by his auterities on his bodily appearance, was spoken of by him oftentimes with rude expressions of contempt. He describes him as the man who had grown haggard and pale by his much fasting, and traces to this cause the asperity of his polemical writings.§ He seems to have described the ascetic discipline as a course directed to no worthy object, and to have praised anxiety for correctness of doctrine as a thing of vastly more importance.||

* Ἡ μονὰς ἀδιαίρετος οὖσα εἰς τριάδα πλατύνεται. Eccles. theol. I. III. c. 4, f. 168.

† No δὺν διαιρούμενα πρόσωπα. Of Asterius, he says: Οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ προσηκόντως ἔρηκε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. L. c.

‡ Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium, s. 9: Rides de reliquiis martyrum, et cum auctore hujus hæreseos Eunomio ecclesiis Christi calumniam struis.

§ He calls him: Φακοτρίβωνα στρατιώτην (in allusion to his meagre diet) καὶ ἄγιν ἐξάριστον ὑπὸ νηστείας δι' ὠχεῶντα καὶ ὑπὸ πικρίας φονωντα. Vid. Gregor. Nyssen. c. Eunom. lib. I. T. II. f. 291.

|| Though no absolute reliance can be placed on the words of Gregory of Nyssa, yet there is doubtless some truth at bottom. When comparing Eunomius with that promoter of ascetic austerities, Basil, he says of him: Κελεύοντος μὴ παρέχειν πράγματα τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν διὰ τῶν

P. 63. *The old creed respecting the Logos.*] While Arius taught that God had granted to the Son the highest place in the creation, because by his foreknowledge he saw that the Son, after his incarnation, would, through the obedience to God which he showed in his conflicts, render himself worthy of this place; Eunomius controverted this view, deriving everything else from that nature of the Logos himself which had been bestowed on him by the will of the Father. "It was not by virtue of his obedience, said he, that he became the Son of God; but because he was begotten, as the Son and only begotten of the Father, he was obedient to the Father in his words and works."*

Strictly connected with his whole mode of apprehending Christianity stands that doctrine of his, which led him to fix an infinite chasm, never to be filled up, betwixt the supreme original Being and the remaining creation, and to affirm that God could not communicate his essence to any creature.†

As Eunomius, the precursor of Socinus, suppressing, in his mechanical supernaturalism of the understanding, the idea of a communication of the divine life, must needs give the more prominence to the idea of a communication of knowledge by means of an express revelation, the notion of a revelation through the senses, it is proper here to notice the theory broached by him of the supernatural origin of language; viz., that God taught the first man to speak by outward lessons, gave him the names of things.‡

P. 78. *By Basil's freedom of spirit and moderation.*] A source of great mischief, especially to the Oriental church,

τοῦ σώματος ὁρίζων προίουση μὴδὲ ἀντιβαίνειν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, μὴδὲ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου σπουδὴν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι τινα βλάβην ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων συνισταμένην, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀρκεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἰρητικὴν πίστιν πρὸς τελειότητα. L. c. f. 306.

* Μόνος ὁ υἱὸς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνεργείᾳ συστάς ἀκοινωνήτον.

† Concerning God: οὐ κοινωνὸν ἔχων τῆς θεότητος, οὐ μερίστην τῆς δόξης, οὐ σύγκληρον τῆς ἰξουσίας, οὐ σύνθερονον τῆς βασιλείας. Gregor. Nyss. orat. II. f. 440, and Eunomius' confession of faith, published by Basil in the remarks on Socrates, I. V. c. 10, f. 61, ed. Mogunt.

‡ In opposition to Basil, whom he accuses of τῇ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφίᾳ κατακολουθεῖν, καὶ περιεόπτειν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίαν, μὴ ὁμολογοῦντα παρ' ἐκείνου τὰς ὀνομασίας τελεῖσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. Orat. XII. f. 768. Ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἀπαναίνεται τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντας ὁ θεὸς ὁμιλίαν, ἀκολουθόν ἔστιν οἰσθαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰς προσφυεῖς τῷ πράγματι τιθεῖσθαι προσηγορίας. L. c. f. 817.

were the internal divisions that had grown out of the attempts to promote union by force under the reign of the emperor Constantine, the influence of which still continued to be felt. It was easier to create confusion than to restore things back again to their natural order. By misunderstandings, by personal disputes about individuals to whom one or the other party were attached, schisms were engendered which could not be so easily healed. It was a crisis through which the Oriental church was destined to pass from its hitherto distracted state, from balancing between Arianism, Semi-Arianism, and the recognition of the trinitarian unity of essence, to union in the latter. Now here there was special need of forbearance and wisdom, so as not to repel those who were on the point of transition, and to meet the advances of all those who gradually inclined to adopt the Homousion. Basil, under these circumstances, was distinguished no less for his constancy and firmness in the contest with what was outward and foreign, than for his zealous and prudent activity in striving to restore the peace of the church. He said many things on this occasion worthy of being remembered at all times in similar crises. "This age," he writes, "has much that tends to the ruin of the church. Nowhere do we find edification of the church, reformation of the fallen, sympathy with the weak, protection for the sound, and healthy among the brethren. Nor, again, is there any remedy for the malady which before prevailed, or means of prevention against the threatening evils of the future. And, moreover, the state of the church, generally, resembles an old garment, which may be easily rent by the slightest cause, and can never again be the same firm whole as it was.* At such a time it requires zeal and great caution to be the author of any real good to the churches. But the good consists in this, to reunite what has thus far been rent asunder. But this union might be effected, if we were willing to accommodate ourselves to the weak in matters where we can do no harm to men's souls."† Basil did everything in his power to bring nearer together the Oriental and

* "Ὅλος ἔοικε λοιπὸν ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατὰστασις ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ, ὑπὸ τῆς τυχεύουσι προφάσεως ῥαδίως καταρρηγνυμένῳ, ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰσχὺν ἱπανελθεῖν πάλιν ἀδυνατεῖ.

† "Ἐνωσις δ' ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ βουλευθῇμεν, ἐν οἷς μηδὲν βλάπτουσι τὰς ψυχὰς, συμπεριεχθῆναι τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις.

Western churches, which had been separated by their different action in the case of the schism between Meletius and Paulinus in Antioch—the Antiochian Old and New city—and to gain the help of the Western church in behalf of the Eastern. “By your help,” he wrote to the Christians of the West, “the true faith must be restored back to the East. It is now time for you to show the East the thanks you owe her for the blessings you have received from her.”* His good intentions would have been better realized, if he had been able to overcome the pride and obstinacy of such Roman bishops as Damasus.†

P. 92. *the Christian idea of creation was preserved against all confusion with the emanation-theory.*] The Arians wished to show their opponents that the same argument which they employed to prove the eternal generation of the Son might serve also to prove a creation without beginning. Athanasius said: “We may not conceive of the pater-nity of God as a thing contingent to Him; since in that case we must needs represent him as subject to change. As certainly as it behoved him to be father, so certainly we can never conceive of him as being other than such.”† To this the Arians replied that “on the same grounds neither could we ascribe a beginning to the creation of God.” But Athanasius could not feel the force of this objection. He insisted here upon the distinction between what is produced outwardly by the will of God, and that which is grounded in His essence. The conception of the former implies a beginning, that of the latter excludes all beginning.§ But the question why God, when

* Ὡν ἐλάβετε παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν, τούτων ἐν καιρῷ παρασχέσθαι αὐτῇ τὴν ἀντίδωσιν. Ep. 91 ad Valerian.

† He himself says, in reference to the qualifications requisite for him who would undertake an embassy to Rome, where he is speaking of a simple man, whom he describes as poorly fitted for a business of this sort: Εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδεσίμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιαν τὴν συντυχίαν, ὑψηλῷ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ ἄνθρωποι καθεμένῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμῶθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένων, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρός ὀμιλίας, ὅς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θωπείας ἀνελευθέρων τὸ ἥθος; Ep. 215.

‡ Διὰ τοῦτο αἰεὶ πατὴρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγέγονε τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πατὴρ, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τρεπτός ἐναι νομισθῇ· εἰ γὰρ κάλον τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα, οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ ἦν πατήρ, οὐκ αἰεὶ ἄρα τὸ κάλον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ. Orat. l. c. c. Arian, s. 28.

§ Τὸ ποίημα ἐξῶθεν τοῦ ποιούντος ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ υἱός· ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας γέννημά ἐστι· διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ποίημα οὐκ ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ εἶναι, ὅτε γὰρ βούλεται ὁ

the power to create was ever with him, yet did not always create, Athanasius repelled as a question of insane curiosity. And yet he supposed a reason might be alleged why it could not be otherwise. To the being of the creature, produced as it is from nothing, eternal existence is a contradiction.* But he did not consider that the notion of a being without temporal beginning and that of an eternal being are by no means identical; that the idea of a *becoming*, having its ground in the dependence on a highest cause, may be conceived to be without a beginning in time, difficult as it unquestionably is for the consciousness, cramped and confined by the limitations of time, to fix and hold fast such a conception.

The penetration of Augustin doubtless enabled him to discern the difference between a creaturely becoming without temporal beginning, and an eternal unconditioned divine being. To him it was clear that it is possible to suppose a spiritual world having no temporal beginning, and which always existed, without at the same time putting it on the same level with the only eternal one, or impinging on the doctrine of God as the almighty creator; because *becoming, without a beginning*, is not the same with *eternal being*.† Augustin, in his unbiassed reflections, became conscious of the difficulties arising from the dependence of the intellect on the forms of temporal intuition,‡ and preferred rather to confess his ignorance than to assert anything arbitrarily.§ “I return back,” says he, “to that which our Creator has been pleased to let us know; and confess that that transcends my own faculties, which He has either permitted to

δημιουργός, ἐργάζεται. Τὸ δὲ γέννημα οὐ βουλήσει ὑπόκειται, ἀλλὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶν ιδιότης. L. c. c. 29.

* “Ἵνα δὲ πᾶν ἄμυδρόν τινα λογισμόν εὐρόντις μὴ σιωπήσωμεν, ἀκουέτωσαν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δυνατόν αἰεὶ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὰ γεννητὰ αἰδία εἶναι, ἕξ οὐκ ὄντων γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γίνεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα πρὶν γίνεσθαι, πῶς ἠδύνατο συνυπάρχειν τῷ αἰεὶ ὄντι Θεῷ.

† Et si semper fuerunt (angeli), creati sunt, nec si semper fuerunt, ideo creatori coeterni sunt. Ille enim semper fuit æternitate immutabili, isti autem facti sunt; sed ideo semper fuisse dicuntur, qui omni tempore fuerunt, sine quibus tempora nullo modo esse potuerunt. Tempus autem, quoniam mutabilitate transcurrit, æternitati immutabili non potest esse coeternum. De civitate Dei, l. XII. c. 15, s. 2.

‡ Augustin, like Kant at a later period, recognized the same *antinomies* in respect of space and time. As infinita spatia temporis, so infinita spatia locorum. L. c. l. XI. c. 5.

§ Vereor ne facilius judicer affirmare quod nescio, quam docere quod scio. L. c. l. XII. c. 15, s. 3.

be known in this life by wiser men, or which He has reserved to be known first by the perfect in the life to come.*" By this modest suspense he would furnish an example to his readers, that they might not suppose *all* questions could be answered. This self-restraint appeared to him to be the necessary condition of all true progress. "For," says he, "if the child is nourished in proportion to his powers, as he grows he will become capable of receiving more; but if he receives more than he can bear, he will perish before he can grow up."† But Augustin, while he exhorted to humility of knowledge in such things, was opposed to that narrow bent of faith which disdainfully repelled the speculative need. "Behold," says he in his confessions, to him who asks, "what did God do before he created heaven and earth? I answer not as one would who might wish to evade the force of such a question by a sarcasm—he was preparing the hell of those who too curiously pry into high mysteries. Rather would I simply answer, I do not know in respect to what I do not know, than sneer at those who inquire into high things, or approve of a false answer."

As Augustin guarded against the error of conceiving God's work of creation as a temporal act, so, too, he was led by this means, and by his view of the world, proceeding out of a deep religious consciousness, to a more profound way of conceiving the relation between the divine creation and the preservation and government of the world, and between the natural and the supernatural. It was he who first, after Origen, developed still farther the notion of a miracle; and in his writings we may find the germ of all the profound remarks on this subject by the scholastic writers of the thirteenth century. Everything in the course of the world's history is, according to Augustin, the realization of that which from eternity was determined in the divine ideas as a connected whole. In time that is realized only in a gradual manner, which in the divine ideas subsists at once. In this view no new thing can take place which had not been prefigured in this ideal plan of the world. Furthermore, in the powers and laws which God originally laid in the

* Redeo igitur ad id quod Creator noster scire nos voluit; illa vero, quæ vel sapientioribus in hac vita scire permisit, vel omnino perfectis in alia vita scienda servavit, ultra vires meas esse confiteor.

† Si enim pro viribus suis alatur infans, fiet, ut crescendo plus capiat; si autem vires suæ capacitatis excedat, deficiet, antequam crescat. L. c.

creation is included everything which God causes to proceed from these powers and laws in the whole course of nature, either with or without the agency of men, who serve as his instruments. "In one way," says Augustin, "all things subsist in the Word of God, where they subsist, not as things created, but as eternal; in another, in the elements of the world, where whatever is destined to *become*, was created at once potentially; and in another, in things which are created, after the causes, which were created at once—not at once, but each in its own time."* He combated the opinion which some entertained, that the world having once been created by God, everything else is produced by the world itself, as God has ordained and commanded, though God himself does nothing more. Against this theory he adduces the words in John v. 17, and adds, "Let us believe, then, or, if we are capable of it, know, that God continues to work, down to the present moment; so that if his agency should be removed from created things all would perish."† Now if we contemplate the ideal plan of the world just described, we shall find everything connected together. What is called miraculous, and what takes place according to the ordinary course of nature, are grounded alike in this plan. All is alike the work of God, without whose continued creative agency nothing can subsist. Yet everything which God does, does not stand related after the same manner to the powers implanted in nature at the creation. It is here necessary to distinguish that which God causes to spring out of these powers themselves, and that which presupposes superadded divine influences and powers. This constitutes the difference between the natural and supernatural. But still the supernatural is not anything that contradicts the course of nature; for by virtue of God's all-embracing wisdom, of the harmonious connection of all that God does, the nature of everything which was to come to pass, even under new, superadded influences, had been foreordained. We will

* Hæc aliter in verbo Dei, ubi ista non facta, sed æterna sunt; aliter in clementis mundi, ubi omnia simul facta futura sunt; aliter in rebus, quæ, secundum causas simul creatas, non jam simul, sed suo quæque tempora, creantur. De Genesi ad literam, l. VI. s. 17.

† Sic ergo credamus, vel si possumus etiam intelligamus, usque nunc operari Deum, ut si conditis ab eo rebus operatio ejus subtrahatur, intercidet. Confess. l. V. s. 40.

present what has here been unfolded in the words of Augustin himself. "The elements of this corporeal world have their determined powers and properties; that is, what each can do and cannot do, what can be produced or cannot be produced by means of each. From these original causes of things proceeds forth, in its own time, all that is produced; but it is in the power of the Creator to make out of all this, in a way transcending the ordinary course of nature, something other than what has its ground in those original causes which contain within them the seminal principles of all things. Yet nothing other than what is still included within those causes as possible, that is, possible to be produced from them by the divine being;* for his almighty power is not an arbitrary attribute, but the almighty power of Wisdom, and out of each thing he brings, in its time, what he designed already at the creation to be able to bring out of it."† "God, the creator of all nature," says Augustin, "does nothing contrary to nature; for that must be conformable to the nature of each thing which He does, from whom the whole measure, number, and order of nature proceeds. We say, in no unbefitting manner, that God does something contrary to nature, when it is contrary to the course of nature known to us. This ordinary course of nature, which is known to us, is what we are wont also to call nature; and when God does anything that is contrary to this we call it a miracle. But against that highest law of nature, which is as far exalted above the knowledge of the godless as it is of the weak, God no more acts than he acts against himself."‡

* Super hunc autem motum cursumque rerum naturalem, potestas Creatoris habet apud se posse de his omnibus facere aliud, quam eorum quasi seminales rationes habent; non tamen id quod non in iis posuit, ut de his fieri vel ab ipso possit. De Genesi ad litteram, l. IX. s. 32.

† Neque enim potentia temeraria, sed sapientiæ virtute, omnipotens est, et hoc de unaquaque re in tempore suo facit, quod ante in ea fecit, ut possit. L. c. Hence he says, that the causales rationes quas Deus mundo indidit, sint ad utrumque modum habiles creatæ; sive ad istum quo usitatissime temporalia transeunt sive ad illum quo rara et mirabilia fiunt, sicut Deo facere placuerit, quod tempore congruat. L. c. l. VI. s. 25.

‡ Deus, creator et conditor omnium naturarum, nihil contra naturam facit: id enim erit cuique rei naturale, quod ille fecerit, a quo est omnis modus, numerus, ordo naturæ. Sed contra naturam non incongrue dicimus aliquid Deus facere, quod facit contra id quod novimus in natura.

Thus Augustin discerns the immediate agency of God in all nature, and looks upon miracles only as events suited to arouse the attention of those who pay no heed to the agency of God which lies hidden under the ordinary course of nature. "Who," says he, "can contemplate the work of God by which this whole world is governed, and not be struck and overwhelmed with the wonderful? If he contemplates the power of life in a single seed-kernel it is a great thing, calculated to fill the contemplator with amazement. But because men direct their attention to other things, and give no heed to God's works, in which they should daily find occasion for praising God, He has, as it were, kept certain things of a more unusual character in reserve, for the purpose of awakening men from their sleep to the worship of Himself by 'miraculous signs.'"

P. 94. *But here according to his own theory.*]—It may be that Marcellus, whose theological interest was wholly absorbed in the doctrine of the Logos, did not turn his reflections on this point. At all events, if he had proceeded still further to unfold his own thoughts into clear consciousness, he must have been led to some such theory as the Sabellian.

It is important to take particular notice of this contrariety in the system of Marcellus. On the one hand, by transferring all the passages of the New Testament relating to Christ, which seemed to him not to be decided enough on the absoluteness of the Logos, to the person of Christ formed by the *ἐνέργεια δραστική* of the Logos, he must have been led to ascribe to this latter the highest place in the creation. This, in fact, harmonized well also with the view he took of the end and aim of redemption; viz., that this appropriation of human nature by the Logos was designed for the purpose of giving man the victory over Satan, who had deceived and overcome him; to glorify human nature by exalting it to a divine life, and to bestow on it the highest dignity.* But, on the other hand,

Hanc etiam enim appellamus naturam, cognitum nobis cursum solitumque naturæ; contra quem Deus cum aliquid facit, mirabilia nominantur. Contra illam vero summam naturæ legem, a notitia remotam sive impiorum sive adhuc infirmorum, tam Deus nullo modo facit, quam contra se ipsum non facit. Contra Faustum, l. XXVI. c. 3.

* In expounding John xii. 28, Marcellus says: "Ἰνα δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς δευτέρᾳ δόξῃ τὸν πρότερον θνητὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀθάνατον ἀπεργάσῃται, καὶ τοσαύτη αὐτὸν δοξάσῃ δόξῃ, ὥστε

his interest for the Logos-doctrine, which suppressed every other, forced him to convert Christ, as man, into a mere instrument or means, which of itself must disappear as soon as the end should be attained which he was to subserve; and, accordingly, he must have sunk the humanity of Christ to the nature of a mere accident, of which the Logos would in the end be wholly disencumbered.

If later theologians fell into laboured and tortuous explanations of the epistle to the Colossians, because they were unwilling to find there the doctrine of Christ's divinity, Marcellus was driven to similar tortuous interpretations by an interest of the opposite kind; namely, that he might not be required to suppose anything whereby the absoluteness of the Logos might seem to him capable of being impaired. Because he believed that by the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, it was impossible to understand the Logos in himself, therefore the man formed by the *δραστική ἐνέργεια* of the Logos must be understood by these words. And hence by the creation here ascribed to him, could be meant only the new spiritual creation, brought forth by Christ; and this in its effects must be extended also to the higher spirits, this being implied in the fact that Christ after his resurrection was exalted above all the rest of creation. The first-born is Christ, considered simply as the first new man, the centre of the whole creation, the end of all, by whom the unity of the creation was to be restored after the subjection of everything evil.* Accordingly, he referred also to this new creation produced by Christ, the words in Proverbs viii. 22, 23; and in connection with this he brings what Paul had said, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,"—understanding this as referring to the pre-determination of that which was to constitute the foundation of

μη μόνον αὐτὸν τῆς πρωτέρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι δουλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπον ἀξιοῦσθαι δόξης — and afterwards: "Ἰνα ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπατηθέντα πρότερον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, αὐτὸν αὖθις νικῆσαι τὸν διαβόλον παρασκευάσῃ· διὰ τοῦτο ἀνείληφε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα ἀκολουθῶν τοῦτον ἀπαρχὴν τῆς ἔξουσίας παραλαβεῖν παρασκευάσῃ. Euseb. c. Marcell. Ancyran. l. II. f. 48, 49.

* Πρωτότοκον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβουλήθη ὁ Θεός. Ἀκούεις, ὅπως οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα ἐν τε οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν καινὴν κτίσιν ἐκτίσθαι συμβαίνει. C. Marcell. l. II. f. 44.

the kingdom of God.* But as in his mind the *personal* Christ stood far in the back-ground, compared with the idea of the Logos—as in his view the whole depended simply on the transient moment when the *ἐραστική ἐνέργεια* of the Logos animated the body—the question presents itself to him: For what purpose is this to continue when the end, the perfect redemption, the complete victory over the kingdom of evil, shall have been attained,—when the redeemed shall, after the resurrection, have attained to the perfect enjoyment of blessedness? The Logos, in fact, took into union with himself the *σάρξ*, which was alien from him, only in order that that end might be attained. Marcellus appeals to the declaration of Christ: “The flesh profiteth nothing—it is the spirit that quickeneth.” How then, he argued, should the flesh, that profiteth nothing, remain through all eternity united with the Logos,—how should the servant-form which he assumed, continue to abide with him evermore?† Thus by his one-sided Logos-doctrine he was driven to the conclusion that the Logos would finally, when the end had been attained, once more emerge from that particular form of manifestation by means of the *σάρξ*—would cast aside the human envelope—that the particular kingdom of Christ would then come to an end, and only the universal kingdom, the universal being, and the universal agency of the Logos existing with the Father, continue to remain. In proof of this he adduced 1 Corinth. xv. 28, and the word “until” in Ps. cx. 1.‡

It is made evident, how far the true point of moment in the doctrine of redemption was lowered by the tendency of Marcellus; how the separating gulf betwixt God and the creature was once more obtruded to view, and the significance of Christ’s personality lost sight of, when we find him saying—“Should any one, however, maintain that the human flesh was worthy of the Logos, inasmuch as the latter made it

* Θεμέλιον μὲν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων τὴν κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ προῤῥισθῆσαν οἰκονομίαν. L. c. f. 45.

† Πῶς ἐγχαρεί τὴν ἐκ γῆς τε οὔσαν καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦσαν [σάρκα] ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσιν αἰῶσιν αὐτῇ λυσιτελοῦσαν συνεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ; πῶς ἔδει τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφὴν ἣν ἀνείληφεν ὁ λόγος, μορφὴν οὔσαν δούλου, συνεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ; C. Marcell. l. II. f. 44.

‡ Οὐκοῦν ὅρον τινὰ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομία τε καὶ βασιλεία. L. c. f. 51.

immortal by the resurrection, let him know, that not everything which is immortal is on that account worthy of God: for God is greater than immortality itself—He, who by his will can make even that which has no existence immortal. But that everything immortal is not therefore worthy of being taken into union with God, is evident from this, that the angels, though immortal, do not therefore come any nearer to unity with God.”* Still, however, he must have been sensible into what straits he was driven by the position which he assumed; in what conflict he became involved with the scriptural doctrine, which he desired to hold fast. The question met him: What was to become then of the *σάρξ* thus exalted to immortality? “The answer to this question,” says he, “transcends our knowledge. We see only through a glass darkly; our knowledge is but in part. We shall come to the knowledge of this only when we see face to face. Question me not, then, on matters about which I have obtained no distinct knowledge from holy writ. I cannot therefore say anything definite respecting this divine *σάρξ* united with the Logos. But then I believe the holy scriptures, that there is one God, and his Logos, who proceeded from the Father, that through him all things might exist; but who will, after the general restoration, subject himself to God and the Father, who has subjected all things to him, that so the Logos may be in God, as he was also before.”†

P. 95. *But the more logical Photinus—*] Photinus, bishop of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, and the scholar of Marcellus, in still farther unfolding the doctrine he had received from his master, passed beyond the limits which the latter was disposed to fix. He could not rest satisfied with the indefinite, uncertain manner in which Marcellus expressed himself respecting the humanity of Christ. In striving to resolve the contradiction which his predecessor had left standing, he was pushed on further. While Marcellus had started with no other interest than that in behalf of the Logos-doc-

* “Ὅτι οὐ πᾶν ὅπερ ἀθάνατον, τοῦτο ἄξιον Θεοῦ· μείζων γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀθανασίας· ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσει καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἀθάνατα ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ πᾶν τὸ ἀθάνατον ἐνάσθαι Θεῷ ἄξιον δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἱερατικῆς καὶ ἀγγέλους, ἀθανάτους ὄντας, μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῇ ἐκότητι τοῦ Θεοῦ. L. c. f. 52.

† C. Marcell. l. II. l. 53.

trine, and was conducted to his own peculiar theory respecting the nature and person of Christ only by his wish to hold this fast, Photinus, on the other hand, directed his attention to the whole doctrine concerning the person of Christ, and sought to frame to himself an adequate conception of this. Thus he came to a scheme altogether akin to Sabellianism.*

He considered the Logos to be the divine reason, either the thinking reason hidden in God, or the reason revealing itself outwardly, and operative, the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος or προφορικός. The name Son of God he would not apply to the Logos, but only to the Christ who appeared in time. It was not till the time when he was born of the Virgin Mary, that, according to Photinus, the existence of the Son of God began. Before, he existed only in the divine idea, in the divine predetermination. In this sense he explained those passages of the Old Testament, which were understood to speak of a pre-existence of the Messiah.† Like Sabellius, he supposed a certain radiation of the divine essence in the form of the Logos constituted the personality in Christ. He supposed the human personality proceeded from a certain hypostasis of the Logos. Hence he is represented to have taught that the self-expanding essence of God constitutes the Son of God, or that the expansion of the divine essence is to be styled the Son.‡ Photinus also, after the same manner with Marcellus, taught that the particular kingdom of Christ would come to an end when the final object of it should have been attained.§ He would

* The theses opposed by the first council of Sirmium (A.D. 357) to the doctrines of Photinus, are specially important, as serving to fix the character of these doctrines. We find here the following formula: "Εἰ τις ἐνδιάθετον ἢ προφορικὸν λόγον λέγοι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

† See Epiphani. haeres. 51: 'Ο λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἦν υἱός. On Daniel vii. 13.—Τοῦτο προκαταγγελτικῶς ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ υἱοῦ ὑπάρχοντος, ἀλλὰ δὴ ὁ ἔμελλεν υἱὸς καλεῖσθαι μετὰ τὴν Μαρίαν, προχρηστικῶς τὰ πάντα ἀναφέρεται εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπαρχῆς δὲ οὕτω ἦν, λόγος δὲ ἦν, καθάπερ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ λόγος. With this, too, agree the opposite positions of the council of Sirmium.

‡ The Sirmium anathema runs: Εἴ τις πλατυνομένην τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν υἱὸν λέγοι ποιεῖν, ἢ τὸν πλατυσμὸν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ὀνομάζει. To which belongs also the following: Εἴ τις τὸν ἀγέννητον ἢ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας λέγειν γεννηθῆναι πολυρῶ.

§ The antithetic position in the Sirmian confession of faith respecting Christ: Οὐ ἡ βασιλεία, ἀκατάπαυστος οὐσα, διαμένει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀπείρους. Ἐσται γὰρ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τουτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

doubtless differ from Marcellus, however, in this, that although he asserted a future termination of the kingdom of Christ, yet he did not extend this also to the personality of Christ formed by the radiation of the Logos, but attributed to the latter an eternal duration. Had not this been so, he assuredly would not have escaped from censure for so disparaging the dignity of Christ. Moreover, it may be inferred from the antagonistic positions of the Sirmian council, that he referred the names "Holy Spirit" and "Paraclete," simply to the activity of God or of Christ.

P. 98. *In the next place it was his opinion.*] Apollinaris was no friend to a stiff and disconnected supernaturalism; but he was for having the supernatural so apprehended as to leave room for the recognition of nature in all its rights. The supernatural element must be conceived as existing in perfect harmony with the natural. This principle is expressed in the words: "Nature is not disturbed by its Creator;" by which is meant, that God never brings about supernatural events in such a way as to subvert the laws of nature; as to destroy the particular form of an essence which has its ground in the laws of its nature. From this the conclusion would follow, which Apollinaris himself deduces from his principle in the same connection with the passage above-cited,—that God uses all beings as his instruments in a way corresponding to their several natures; thus, for example, he employs rational beings, gifted with formal freedom, in no such way as to destroy their peculiar nature as free beings—in no such way as to supersede what distinguishes *them* from beings governed by the necessary laws of nature. The important consequences which follow from the principle here expressed are sufficiently evident.

P. 101. *The lower and the higher principles in man's nature.*] Thus Apollinaris supposed,—as it seemed to him necessary to do, in order to recognize Christ as God-man and the true unity in him,—that there is but one nature in Christ. the divine nature become human; and but one motion of the will corresponding thereto; and but one activity, as actuating the entire life; for everything in him, it is supposed, proceeded from the immutable spirit as its moving principle; just as in man, the entire life is determined and guided by the presiding soul. In a letter to the emperor Jovian, Apollinaris

says: "When the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, that he might be the Son of God,—God according to the Spirit: the Son of man according to the flesh; the one Son—not two natures, one adorable nature, and another to which no adoration is due; but one incarnate nature of the God Logos, to which, in its union with the flesh, one adoration is due."* The two natures, the divine and the human, he meant, are in him blended in one. He is to be acknowledged as Lord in this one nature composed of the deity and the humanity.† In his work, written against the bishop Diodore of Tarsus, he says, "The instrument and that by which it is moved produces, by its very nature, but one and the same action; and where the action is one, there is also at the ground of it but one essence."‡ "Those persons would make impossibilities possible (bore a rock with the finger), who suppose that in Christ there were two spirits, a divine and a human;§ for if every spirit determines itself freely in accordance with its own peculiar nature, it is impossible that, in one and the same subject, there should be two natures combined together, willing opposite things."|| "As Paul nobly declares—in God we live, move, and have our being; so too the will of God, through the Logos dwelling in the flesh, sufficed to move and animate that flesh, the divine activity taking the place of the soul."¶ "He maintained that when two individual essences unite together, a neutral being is the result; as in the case of the mule, the properties of the ass and of the horse are united, and as out of the mixture of two

* Οὐ δύο φύσεις τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκύνητην, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει. Maji scriptorum nova collectio, T. VII. 1833, p. 16.

† Μιᾷ συγκράτῳ τῇ φύσει ἄνθρωπον τὸν κυρίον λέγομεν. L. c. p. 16.

‡ Ὁργανὸν καὶ τὸ κοινοῦν μίαν πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖν τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Ὅτι δὲ μία ἡ ἐνέργεια, μία καὶ ἡ οὐσία, μία ἄρα γέγονεν οὐσία τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς. L. c. p. 20.

§ Δακτύλῳ γλίσσουσι πέτραν, οἱ δύο νόας ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δογματίζοντες.

|| Εἰ γὰρ πᾶς νοῦς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶ ἰδικῶ θελήματι κατὰ φύσιν κινούμενος, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐνὰ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένῳ δύο τοὺς τάναντία θέλοντας ἀλλήλοις συνυπάρχειν. Maji T. VII. p. 76.

¶ Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἄριστα Παῦλος βοᾷ ἐν τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἰσμεν, ἥρκει καὶ μόνον τὸ αὐτοῦ θέλημα, διὰ ἐν τῇ σάρκι σκηνώσαντος λόγου, πρὸς τὸ ταύτην ζωοποιεῖν καὶ κινεῖν, ἀναπληρώσεως τῆς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείας τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου νοός. L. c. p. 203.

different colours results a third. But nothing formed out of such a combination has the properties of two opposite kinds complete, but partially mixed. Such is the union of God and man in Christ. He is therefore neither wholly man nor wholly God, but a mixture of God and man.”*

P. 101. *A name which could not otherwise be ascribed to him.*] As Apollinaris supposed that the spirit properly constitutes the man; and as, instead of the human spirit, he supposed the divine, immutable spirit, the Logos in Christ; so in this view of the matter he might say, that the Logos was man before his appearance in humanity, understanding in this sense those passages where Christ speaks of his being with the Father before the creation. “The man Christ,” says he, “in following this connection of ideas,† pre-existed; not as though the spirit, that is God, was a different being from Christ himself, but so that the Lord was the divine spirit in the nature of the God-man.‡ In this way only is it possible to understand how he existed before his birth on earth; how he was before all things; was of the same race with God.”§ Hence, he says, Christ did not become man, but he became *as* man; namely, he was not of the same essence with man in the most exalted part of his nature.||

P. 103. *According to this connection of ideas —.*] The Logos remains still the immutable, infinite, omnipresent being; and yet his activity is one which is limited by the

* Μισότητες γίνονται ιδιοτήτων διαφορών εἰς ἓν συνελθουσῶν, ὡς ἐν ἡμίονῳ ιδιότης ὄνου καὶ ἵππου, καὶ ἐν γλαυκῷ χρώματι ιδιότης λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος· οὐδεμία δὲ μισότης ἑκατέρας ἔχει τὰς ἀκρότητας ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου, ἀλλὰ μερικῶς ἐπιμεμιγμένας· μισότης δὲ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν Χριστῷ οὐκ ἄρα οὔτε ἀνθρώπος ὅλος οὔτε Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου μίξις. L. c. p. 310.

† After having thus expounded the sense which such expressions have in the connection of ideas in Apollinaris, it is needless to enter at large into the refutation of those arbitrary interpretations of his meaning, which men have indulged in on speculative grounds to which Apollinaris was utterly a stranger.

‡ Καὶ προὑπάρχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς, οὐχ ὡς ἑτέρου ὄντος παρ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὡς τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσει Θείου πνεύματος ὄντος. Gregor. Nyss. Antirrhetic. p. 149.

§ Προὑπάρχειν τῆς ἐν γῇ γεννήσεως, πρὸ πάντων εἶναι, σύμφυλον εἶναι. L. c. p. 191.

|| Οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, διότι οὐχ ὁμοούσιος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτατον. Antirrhetic. p. 177. Hence the title of the book refuted by Gregory of Nyssa: Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τῆς Θείας σαρκώσεως τῆς καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἀνθρώπου. L. c. p. 126.

σάρξ.* Also by virtue of the σάρξ animated by him, he takes part in the passion.† This capacity of suffering in the σάρξ passes over to the Logos, as the σάρξ receives the divine animating power of the Logos into itself. But how is it possible to conceive of any such thing, except on the supposition that a personality distinct from the infinite Logos proceeds from the influence which the Logos exercises on the σάρξ? And the idea of an intermediate being, which is neither wholly God nor wholly man, would lead, in fact, to a theory of that very kind which Apollinaris was solicitous to avoid. It is difficult to form, from the fragments which have come down to us, any clear idea of the manner in which Apollinaris would explain to himself the prayer of Christ, that if possible the cup of agony might pass from him. On the one hand, he considered this as conclusive evidence, that He who was entering upon his sufferings distinguished his own will from that of the Almighty Father.‡ On the other, he maintained, against his adversaries, that this was not, as they supposed, the will of the man from the earth, but the will of the God who descended from heaven.§ We can explain this only by supposing, that since Apollinaris ascribed to the Logos the capacity of suffering which was in the σάρξ, accounting in this way for those words of the prayer, he considered himself therefore warranted to find here a proof of suffering, and yet to attribute it to the Logos himself, by whom the σάρξ was animated.

P. 117. *He has adopted them as his children.*] “An essential union,” Theodore supposed, “could truly subsist only between beings the same in essence; not between those unlike in essence; for in the latter case, there must be a union of elements differing in kind.”||

* Respecting Christ's relation to the Father, he says: Διαίρων μὲν τὴν ἐνέργειαν κατὰ σάρκα, ἔξισῶν δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα (the divine essence, the animating spirit). The ἰσότης ἢ ἐν δυνάμει and the κατὰ σάρκα τῆς ἐνεργείας διαίρεσις. L. c. p. 194.

† The σάρξ συνετέθη πρὸς τὸ οὐράνιον ἡγεμονικόν, ἐξοικειωθείσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ παθητικὸν αὐτῆς καὶ λαβοῦσα τὸ θεῖον οἰκισθῆναι. Maji, T. VII. p. 301.

‡ Εἰ ἰσοσθενὴς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐρχόμενος ἦν, πῶς ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γινόμενος προσηύχετο, κ.τ.λ. L. c. p. 203.

§ Ὅτι τὸ θέλημα τοῦτο ἴδιον εἴρηται οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐκ γῆς, καθὼς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τοῦ καταβάντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Antirrhetic. p. 201

|| Ὁ τῆς, κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσις ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν ὁμοουσίων ἡλήθεται λόγος.

P. 118. *Share in all the honour, glory, and dominion belonging to himself.*] It is owing to the union of the natures by the divine good pleasure, says Theodore, that the same name is, by *homonymy*, given to both; that they partake of the same dominion, dignity, power; and that they are never separated;—by virtue of all which the two constitute one person, indeed, they are called one.*

P. 118. *The human nature has been taken up into fellowship with the divine.*] “This kind of union,” said he, “keeps the two natures unmixed and undivided; both become thereby one person; there is one will and one activity, and accordingly, one dominion.”†

P. 124. *Nestorius—belonged—among the disciples of the Antiochian doctrine.*] He was accustomed to oppose to the *ένωσις κατ’ οὐσίαν, κατὰ φύσιν*, to the *ένωσις κατ’ εὐδοκίαν, κατὰ θέλησιν*. The former appeared to him to be contradictory to common sense, and irreconcilable with the immutability of the divine essence.‡

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑτεροουσίων διέψευσται, συγχύσεως εἶναι καθαρὸς οὐ δυνάμενος. Collectio Maji, T. VII. p. 69.

* ‘Η κατ’ εὐδοκίαν τῶν φύσεων ἑνωσις μίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῇ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας λόγῳ ἐργάζεται τὴν προσηγορίαν, τὴν αὐθεντίαν, τὴν δυναστείαν, τὴν δεσποτείαν, τὴν ἀξίαν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν· μηδενὶ τρόπῳ διαιρουμένην, ἐνὸς ἀμφοτέρων κατ’ αὐτὴν προσώπου καὶ γενομένου καὶ λεγομένου. Maji, l. c. p. 69.

† ‘Ο τῆς κατ’ εὐδοκίαν ἑνώσεως τρόπος, ἀσυγχύτους φυλάσσαν φύσεις καὶ ἀδιαίρετους ἐν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρόσωπον δεικνυσιν, καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ τῆς ἐπομένης τούτοις μιᾶς αὐθεντίας καὶ δεσποτίας. Maji, l. c. p. 69.

‡ As he expresses himself in the following fragment: Τῇ κατ’ οὐσίαν λόγῳ, φύσει φύσις οὐχ ἑνῶται χωρὶς ἀφανισμοῦ· οὐκίτι γὰρ αὐταῖς σώζεται ὁ τοῦ πᾶς εἶναι λόγος· ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν θέλησιν ἑνωσις καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀτρίπτους αὐτὰς τηρεῖ καὶ ἀδιαίρετους, μίαν αὐτῶν δεικνύσα πεποιημένην τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. And in the second fragment, the καθ’ ὑπόστασιν καὶ φύσιν ἑνωσις is rejected as untenable, and the κατ’ εὐδοκίαν ἑνωσις, μίαν τῶν ἡγωμένων ἀπροσώζουσι θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν maintained. Maji, T. VII. 1833, p. 69.

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